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AUTUMN NUMBER

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN: BEGINNINGS - I
—William A. Spill

THE EARL OF SELKIRK IN MICHIGAN COURTS
—William L. Jenks

COURT MARTIAL OF GEN. WILLIAM HULL
—John G. Van Deusen



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GEORGE N. FULLER, *Editor*

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MICHIGAN HISTORY MAGAZINE

VOL. XII

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN: BEGINNINGS—I

BY WILLIAM A. SPILL

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

SINCE men began repeating the story of earlier generations, the heroes of the tale have grown super-heroes, as good and evil spirits, faith, miracles and divinity were conjured up to explain and adorn their exploits. As mankind aged and came to know more of itself, the universe in which it lived, and something of the laws which govern and control the course of human events, it has tended to separate the possible from the impossible in these tales, and classify the latter as legend, tradition or fable and the former as biography or history. Where the dividing line runs, we can only approximate. It is safe to say that only the more grossly, crude fables fail to be repeated as history.

The story of the University of Michigan is no exception. It is told, and, far too often, accepted, that this institution, Minerva-like, sprung full-armed from the brain of Jove. We forget, in labored construction of fabled past, that ever-present miracle in the affairs of men, "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear".¹ The University of Michigan, like all human institutions, came through slow and orderly processes of planting, cultivation, growth and the climatic changes of its environment.

The men of its story are neither gods nor demi-gods. The university was a new adventure, sprung almost entirely from

¹Mark IV: 28

the soil of the new world and as distinctly American as Indian maize or Irish potatoes. This was not the first university. The children of the Northwest Territory were not transplanted English, Germans, French, Dutch or what not; they were the first of a new breed, Americans. This institution planted by them was the first American university. Its history can not be traced by analogy. It came into being in the first city, of the first territory that the United States governed. The needs and aspirations of that new territory were supplied and directed by an infant nation schooled by hard experience to the task of making its fundamentals of liberty, equality and fraternity workable. These pioneers, out of a republic of pioneers, demanded an answer to their need for education which would accord with their resources, hopes and ideals. The answer was the University of Michigan.

In the year 1787, the national boundaries were hazy. Great Britain had lost to the colonies territory extending from the Pennsylvania line and the Ohio River on the east and south, to the Mississippi River on the west. The northern line, west of Lake Erie, was much in doubt and dispute. It was a quarter of a century later before that northern line was determined. Detroit, one of the oldest cities of America, founded in 1701, was the largest community within that area. Yet it was held by the British until July 11, 1796. Canada for a long time projected downwards like a spear-head through Indiana to the Ohio River, and even beyond. It was February 25, 1779, when George Rogers Clarke and his Virginia militia captured Vincennes, before British rule receded to the vicinity of Detroit. This territory, known as "The Northwest Territory", because of its location northwest of the Ohio River, had been ceded by the several colonies to the general government established under the Articles of Confederation. In accepting it, the general government made a declaration with respect to the territory. This took the form of a compact, or contract, between the general government, the thirteen colonies, and the population, present and future, of the territory.

The compact was adopted by the Congress of the Confederation, July 13, 1787, in an act entitled: "An Ordinance for the government of the territory north and west of the river Ohio". It is commonly called, the "Ordinance of 1787". Among the provisions of that ordinance, was the following covenant or declaration:

Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

In July, 1798, eleven years later, Gabriel Richard² came to the town of Detroit, as assistant to Rev. Fr. M. Lavadoux, rector of the Roman Church of St. Anne. In 1801, when Father Lavadoux was recalled to Baltimore, he became rector. He was born at Saintes, France, October 15, 1764. In 1784 he graduated from the College of the Saintonge³ with first prize in rhetoric, first prize in French oratory, first in Latin verse and second in Latin oratory. He then entered the great University of Angers⁴, graduating in philosophy and theology. Before his ordination, which took place at Issy in 1791, he became a Sulpician. This is significant, as the Sulpicians are a company of Roman clerics whose chief devotion is education⁵. Upon his ordination Richard taught mathematics in the seminary at Issy until the ferocity of the French Revolution closed and dispersed the school. Richard fled from France, landing in Baltimore, June 24, 1792. It is not known whether he expected to teach mathematics in St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore, or in a college which the Sulpicians were endeavoring to open at Georgetown⁶. The Sulpician school did not materialize. There was no opening at St. Mary's. He

²His full name was James Gabriel Richard, but early in his life the "James" seems to have been discarded.

³Or Saintonge College. Saintonge was one of the ancient departments of France, whose capital was Saintes.

⁴At the time Richard was a student in Angers, a young man named Arthur Wesley or Wellesley, later the famous Duke of Wellington, was studying military tactics there. The University was destroyed in the French Revolution.

⁵The Sulpicians, or "The Company of St. Sulpice," are a congregation or order of Roman priests, founded at Paris in 1642 by Abbe J. J. Olier. The name is derived from the Parisian parish of St. Sulpice, in which it originated. In addition to other vows, their chief devotion is education. Sulpicians proudly claim that their associate Gabriel Richard "founded the University of Michigan."

⁶Now Georgetown, D. C.



GABRIEL RICHARD
From an oil painting depicting him at the age of 60.

was sent to Illinois as a missionary to the Kaskaskia Indians. *En route* he encountered priests from Detroit, and an interest in that town was created, that later resulted in his transfer to that community. Gabriel Richard, from the year of his arrival, then nearly 34 years of age, was a commanding and influential figure. He would have been a man of mark in almost any community, at any time⁷. His unrelenting warfare upon the illicit whiskey trade among the Indians was but one indication to his indifference to popularity.

St. Anne's parish, owing to the lack of geographical knowledge, was roughly supposed to be equally within the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Quebec, Baltimore and Bardstown, Kentucky. In avoiding controversy as to their episcopal jurisdiction, it was a happy solution to appoint Father Richard, Vicar General for each. Gabriel Richard's interests, though, were not primarily ecclesiastical. His abiding interest was education. The life of Gabriel Richard in Detroit, from 1798 to 1832 is the history of education in Michigan during those early years. He began with schools for the Indians and gradually improved both the quality of the schools and the number of pupils. In 1804 he had in operation what was a crude high school, which, out of his zeal and poverty, he had equipped with a spinning machine of one hundred spindles, an air pump, an electrical apparatus, and crude laboratory material. This was destroyed with the rest of the town of Detroit, by fire, on June 11, 1805.

Among the early legislation of the United States were measures to adapt the Ordinance of 1787 to the newly adopted constitution⁸. May 7, 1800, Congress created the Territory of Indiana, which comprised all of the Northwest Territory outside of Ohio⁹. March 26, 1804, Congress made provision for three land offices in this Indiana Territory,—at Detroit, Vin-

⁷*Michigan, A History of Governments.* Thomas M. Cooley. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. Boston 1885.

⁸An Act to provide for the Government of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio. Approved August 7, 1789. 1 United States Statutes at Large, 50-53.

⁹An Act to divide the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio, into two separate governments. Approved May 7, 1800. 2 United States Statutes at Large, 58-59.

cennes, and Kaskaskia.¹⁰ The Detroit district corresponded roughly to the state of Michigan. Section 5 of this act provided:

That, all the lands aforesaid with the exception also of an entire township in each of the three above described tracts of country or districts, to be located by the Secretary of the Treasury for the use of a Seminary of Learning. [etc.]

This was the first actual grant of land by the United States to provide "means of education" other than common schools. January 11, 1805, Detroit was made the seat of government of a separate territory to be called "Michigan".¹¹ In the original territorial legislation known as the Ordinance of 1787, there was a provision as follows:

Sec. 5. The governors and judges, or a majority of them shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress from time to time, which laws shall be in force in the district, until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall see fit.

Power was given the President to appoint, by and with the consent of the Senate, the governor, secretary, and judges. The secretary in case of absence, death, or disability of the governor, became the acting governor.

These provisions were included, by reference, in the subsequent congressional acts creating territories out of the original territory. The language empowering the Governor and Judges to make, adopt and publish such portions of the laws of the original states as were best adapted to the circumstances of their territory, was liberally construed. In fact, neither Congress nor the courts ever attempted to go behind the assertion of the acts themselves that they were so made, adopted and published.

¹⁰An Act making provision for the disposal of the public lands in the Indiana Territory and for other purposes. Approved March 26, 1804. 2 United States Statutes at Large, 277-283.

¹¹An Act to divide the Indiana Territory into two separate governments. Approved January 11, 1805. 2 United States Statutes at Large, 309-310.

In the case of Michigan, the authority of the Governor and Judges was carried to extremes. A historian says:¹²

The three judges and the Governor in themselves possessed all power, legislative, executive and judicial. They made laws, built court-houses, issued scrip, laid out streets and lots, gave away lots to churches, schools, societies and individuals and were practically "Lords of the Manor of Detroit." The adoption of laws from the original thirteen states, which was all they were authorized to do, became under their methods a mere burlesque. A writer of that period openly charged, and exaggerated but little in saying, that they would "parade the laws of the original states before them on the table, and cull letters from the laws of Maryland, syllables from the laws of Virginia, words from the laws of New York, sentences from the laws of Pennsylvania, verses from the laws of Kentucky and chapters from the laws of Connecticut."

It is due to one or two of those associated as judges during a part of this regime, to say that Judge Woodward, who was in office for the entire period, was very largely responsible for the conditions that existed.

Following this action upon the part of Congress, Gabriel Richard urged the Governor and Judges to create a seminary of learning in Michigan and claim the congressional township grant. He addressed numerous memorials on the subject of education, generally to the Governor and Judges. One dated October 18, 1808, shows the continuous urge of Richard, envisions the future university, and contains the first public expression of that familiar phrase, "the College of Literature, Science and Arts" in this language: "for the Encouragement of literature, scientific knowledge and useful arts". It suggests the four lotteries later authorized to be cast by the charter of the University. The record discloses that on this occasion Elias Augustus Brevoort Woodward¹³, who as presiding judge of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan,

¹²*Historic Towns of Western States—Detroit.* Silas Farmer. American Historic Towns Series, IV, 104-5. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

¹³Born in New York City, November 6, 1774. A. B. from King's College, June, 1793. Lawyer and member municipal council, Washington, D. C., 1796-1805. Appointed Presiding Judge, Territory of Michigan by President Jefferson, March 1, 1805. Arrived in Detroit June 12, 1805. Planned Detroit as rebuilt. Colonel of Militia War of 1812. August 1, 1824, was appointed Territorial Judge in Florida. Died at Tallahassee, Florida, 1827. Judge Woodward generally signed himself: "A. B. Woodward." In King's College records he is designated as "Elias B. Woodward."

was a very dominant figure in legislation, offered a resolution that "It is now expedient to establish a Seminary of Learning in this Territory". The resolution was not seconded and nothing was done.

Detroit, at this time, was largely composed of a population of French. There was a growing number of Americans in the Territory. The French dominance was passing. The total population of the Territory was less than 4700, most of which was in Detroit, and the adjacent communities. Conditions were very primitive, the preponderant French being largely hunters and trappers. There was only one road,—the one which followed down along the river to the Rapids of the Miami (Toledo), and thence struggled on eastward to civilization. Immigration had been greatly impeded by the official report of a surveyor¹⁴ that the territory was a wilderness of morass, across which it was impossible to convey a horse and not one acre in a hundred of which could ever be cultivated. The representatives of the United States governing the Territory were Protestants. Their ancestry, ideals and religion were hostile to those of the French. Richard was the leader of that portion of the population which was of French descent, and Roman Catholic in its fealty.

However much we regret and seek to end ignorance, misunderstanding, and intolerance, these are very present and malignant influences in the affairs of men. Gabriel Richard's position in the community was difficult. He was a priest of the Roman church. On the other hand, the tolerance of Father Richard toward, and his friendship, sympathy, and co-operation with, Protestants, aggravated by his apparent conviction that education must be free alike from both church and dogma, made his own people suspicious of him. It is incredible that so great a man was unaware of the suspicion and misunderstanding which operated to hinder his efforts and thwart his purposes.

In the summer of 1809, Father Richard brought to Detroit,

¹⁴Edward Tiffin, afterwards Governor of Ohio.

from Baltimore, a printing press, type and other equipment. In August 1809, he issued the first number of a paper known as *The Essay; or Impartial Observer*. This was printed partly in French. It was devoted to literary and church matters, but because of the expense involved, it was short lived.¹⁵ The press and type remained and were used by Father Richard to print and publish various books. Most of the first school books used in Michigan came from the Richard press.

The question of the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions in Canada remained a matter of contention and friction. The Indian tribes were cultivated by the British through presents and professed friendship. The American government did not cultivate the Indians. It had little to give them, and that little was but a small part of the value of the lands which it was taking from them. This bred resentment among the Indians which the British secretly, from time to time, provoked into spasmodic outbreaks against various isolated settlers and settlements. War, with the mother country, was supposedly extinguished at the close of the Revolution, but it smouldered until June 19, 1812, when it broke into an open declaration. General William Hull was the Governor of the Territory, and it was planned to prosecute the war with an invasion into Canada. This failed because of the mistaken conception that Canadians were friendly to America and needed only proof of America's co-operation to throw off "the hated British yoke" and because of Hull's inability and inefficiency. On Sunday, August 16, 1812, General Hull surrendered Detroit and with it Michigan and a goodly portion of the Northwest Territory to the British under Sir Isaac Brock. Great Britain resumed its government, which it continued until September 23, 1813. The thunder of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's guns at Put-in-Bay, September 10, 1813, jarred the British grip and Perry raised the American flag over Detroit thirteen days later. General Wil-

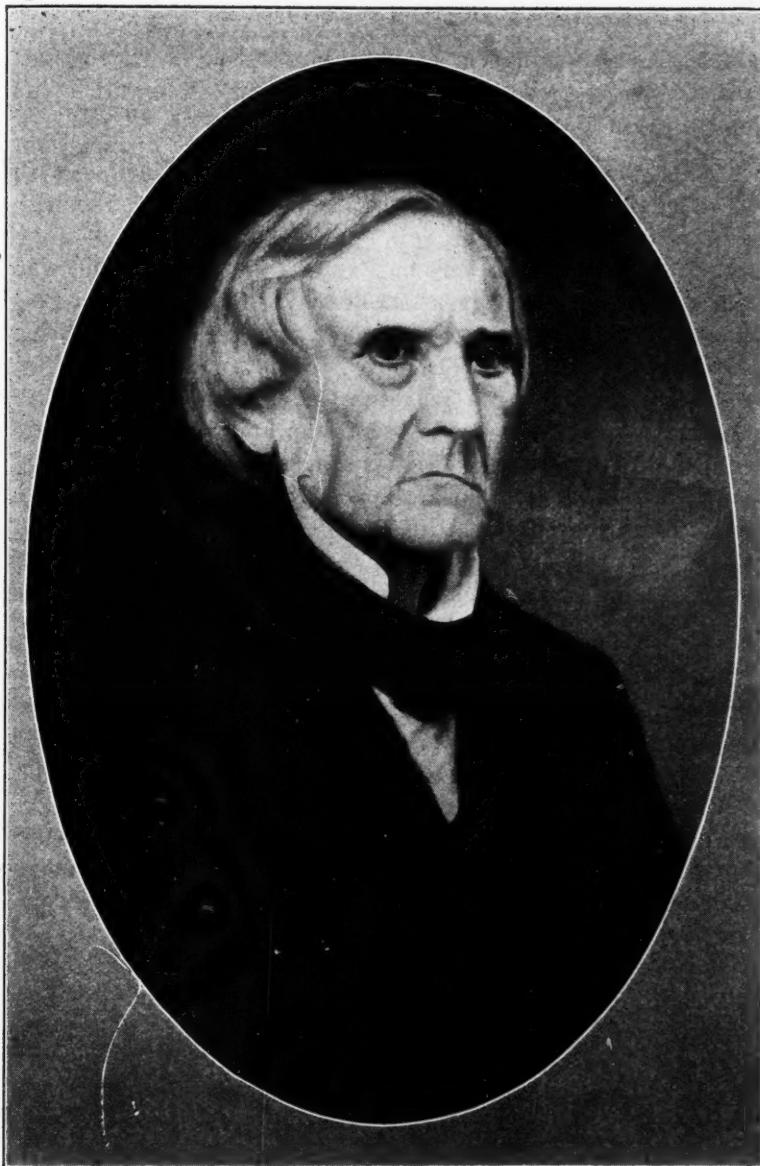
¹⁵The first number, said to be the last number, was reproduced in the "Centennial number" of the *Detroit Free Press* July 11, 1896.

liam Henry Harrison was made Military Governor. While Detroit and Michigan were back in the United States, it was not until General Lewis Cass, who served until August 1, 1831, became civil governor of the Territory, October 29, 1815, that the Territory ceased to be a battle ground and its inhabitants were able to turn their endeavors from war to peace.

In 1814 President Madison appointed William Woodbridge Secretary of the Territory. He was born at Norwich, Connecticut, August 20, 1780. His father, Dudley Woodbridge, forsook the practice of the law to serve as a Revolutionary minute man. After the war the elder Woodbridge settled in Marietta, Ohio. William and the other children remained in Connecticut, but in 1791 he joined his parents, spending five years in Marietta and among the French settlers at Gallipolis. William was admitted to the Connecticut bar in 1805. He returned to Marietta and was elected to the Ohio Assembly, serving four years. In 1809 he was elected to the State Senate, serving until 1814, at which time he was appointed Secretary of the Territory of Michigan.

Woodbridge was greatly interested in education and as an official gave real support to all movements and efforts to provide educational facilities. Almost immediately upon his arrival at Detroit he became a friend of Father Richard's, and a sympathetic collaborator with him in his efforts to establish a university. The question as to who could direct the proposed university, remained unanswered. While Woodbridge came of sturdy New England, Protestant ancestry, he was not a college or university man, and could not be utilized.

The close of the War of 1812, marked by the Battle of New Orleans (January 8, 1815), rather than the Treaty of Peace (December 24, 1814), brought a period of depression and stagnation to the Territory. The census of 1810 gave the total population of the Territory as 4762, which indicated a Detroit population of 1200. The war brought Detroit one real benefit. Thousands of militiamen saw with their own eyes that Michigan was not a boundless morass, but fair as the Garden of the



WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE
From an oil painting which hangs in the Capitol at Lansing.

Gods. The dissemination of that information when they returned home started the great tide of immigration which was to sweep into Michigan.¹⁶

Among those who not only heard, but were thrilled with the story of the struggling Michigan pioneers, was a theological student in Princeton, New Jersey, by the name of John Monteith. His parents were natives of Dundee, Scotland, who had settled in a tiny hamlet in Pennsylvania, destined to become famous in American history. There in Gettysburg, August 5, 1788, he was born. In 1813, he received his bachelor's degree in arts from Jefferson College, since merged with Washington College in the Washington and Jefferson College of today. He entered the Presbyterian seminary at Princeton, N. J., where just prior to graduation, June, 1816, there came to him the Macedonian call from Detroit. The following summer he traveled, on horse back, to Detroit.¹⁷ Here he gathered all Protestants together and formed a church under the name of "The First Protestant Society of Detroit".

Monteith was a man of positive convictions, and high, firm purposes but of broad tolerance. Father Richard and he immediately recognized in each other, members of "that blessed company who understand". There was no Protestant house of worship, and so Father Richard placed at Monteith's disposal one of the buildings of St. Anne's. There on the same plot of ground, Father Richard sang the masses of the Roman church and John Monteith conducted Protestant services until able to organize and house his congregation.

The relationship between Richard and Monteith partook somewhat of father and son,—somewhat of older and younger

¹⁶The immigration into the territory was exceptional in quality. This was especially true of Michigan. In the years following the war of 1812, many a Yankee was singing:

"Come, all ye Yankee farmers who wish to change your lot,
Who've spunk enough to travel beyond your native spot,
And leave behind the village where pa and ma do stay,
Come follow me and settle in Michigania."

—From *A History of Higher Education in America*. Charles F. Thwing. Appleton & Co., New York, 1901, p. 223.

¹⁷This journey of over five hundred miles, and several similar ones, John Monteith made without fire-arms or weapons of any kind. Nothing more need be said of the quality of faith and courage of this ambassador of the Prince of Peace.

brothers. Richard was then (June 25, 1816), fifty-one years of age, tall, gaunt, with an ascetic face, disfigured by a sabre cut received in escaping from France. He had the air of one much alone with books. His expressive eyes, not often masked by the spectacles which he pushed back upon his forehead, seemed to see and hold "things unseen". Richard was a most eloquent speaker and possessed of a magnetic presence.

Monteith was twenty-seven and said to be a fine specimen of physical perfection. Monteith's diary reads:

July 4, 1816. On a walk down the river I call at the residence of Priest Richard (pronounced Rechar). He is absent. Have an interview with a nun about 50 years of age and has never been more than 4 miles abroad.

July 16. Priest Gabriel Richard calls on me at my lodgings at Col. Hunts. We have a free and pleasant conversation. He says there is much work for me to do and wishes me success. He stays to tea. I request him to ask a blessing. He answers that he is not accustomed to our mode, that he performs such services in Latin and if acceptable he would do it in that way. I replied that it would not be understood by the family. He therefore declines.

July 23, 1816. I visit the Pere Richard. The conversation agreeable. He presents me with a copy of Thomas A'Kempis.

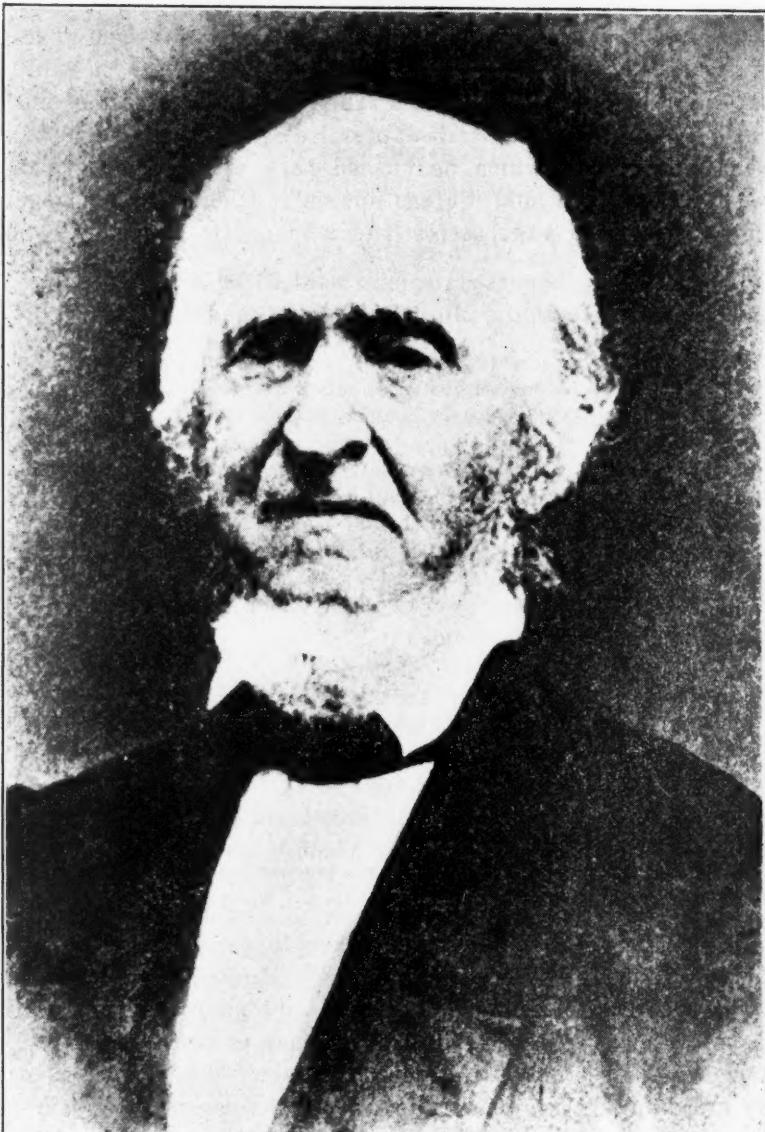
July 26, 1816. Attended the Fete at St. Anne's. Mons. Richard never preaches or writes a sermon as he informs me. He reads lessons and makes extemporaneous remarks.

Nov. 28, 1816. Visit Priest Richard who is out of health. I think he loves to have me visit him.

Nov. 10, 1818. Prepare a report of the transactions of the University. Visit Bishop Flagot at the residence of Rector Richard.

In June, 1817, Monteith went back to Princeton to be ordained as a Presbyterian minister.¹⁸ Undoubtedly Richard had explained to Monteith his aims and purposes. Here at last was, not only *a man*, but the *very man* to assume the presidency and direction of the new university. Even now, when we pride ourselves upon our breadth and tolerance we marvel that a Roman Catholic priest and a Scotch Presbyterian minister of more than eleven decades past, could work in harmony

¹⁸The church which he had organized and of which he became the first pastor was The First Protestant Church of Detroit.



JOHN MONTEITH

First President of the University of Michigan. From a daguerreotype taken
about 1850.

together. There could not have been a better and more practical working combination. Each was the representative and leader of an element composing the two factions in the Territory.

Upon the return of Monteith to Detroit, in July, 1817, he found the community in a ferment of excitement. President Monroe was making a western trip, and he and his party would soon arrive in Detroit. Governor Lewis Cass, whose interest in the proposed University was kindly and sympathetic, was more interested in place and position. He was planning to return with the presidential party in August. This was the opening of the pathway that was to lead Cass to the doors of the White House.¹⁹ President Monroe came, was feted, entertained, and honored by having a county named after him, and departed.²⁰ Beneath all this ceremony and excitement, Gabriel Richard, John Monteith and William Woodbridge were quietly and energetically planning the founding of the university. It was necessary to have their plan drafted into an Act, and the same made, adopted and published as the law of the Territory.

The dominant figure in legislation was Judge A. B. Woodward. He may have been testy, strong-minded and self-willed, and probably was, since he lived and died a bachelor.²¹ It is said of him that legislation in the Territory during the period he served as Presiding Judge (1805-1824), consisted largely in his submitting drafts of acts to the others and having them "sign on the dotted line". So firm was his grasp that upon one occasion, when the others took advantage of his absence to repeal certain legislation, the Presiding Judge, on his return, proceeded to impanel a grand jury, and have the offending legislation presented as a nuisance. Armed with this in-

¹⁹Lewis Cass, born at Exeter, N. H., October 9, 1782; died at Detroit June 17, 1866. In 1848 he was the Democratic presidential candidate against General Zachary Taylor who received 163 electoral votes to 137 for Cass.

²⁰According to John Monteith's diary, President Monroe arrived on August 13 by water, and departed overland through Ohio, August 18, 1817.

²¹See brief memorial sketch by Judge B. F. H. Witherell, the son of Judge James Witherell, in the preface to *4 Michigan Reports*.

Primer of Michigan History. Wm. J. Cox. Published by Michigan School Service, Inc., Lansing.

dictment, he successfully defied his colleagues in their attempted repeal.²² He was a friend and intimate of President Jefferson. He spent much time in abstract and whimsical study. One thing that greatly interested him was the division or classification of all branches of human knowledge. In 1816 Woodward published a book of 371 pages entitled, *System of Universal Science. Consideration of the Differences of Human Knowledge and on the Classification and Nomenclature of the Sciences*. The title on the back was the single word "Encatholepistemia". In this book Woodward developed the idea that the English language did not afford sufficient critical and definite terms to define the various classifications of human knowledge. He proposed certain words of his own coinage, supposedly adopted in large part from the Greek.²³

When the scheme of the charter for the proposed University was laid before Woodward, he was favorable to it, but characteristically insisted upon drafting the law himself. In so doing he inserted in the Act less than a score of these words, which appeared in, or were suggested by his book. For example, he gave the University the alternative name, "Catholepistemad" in the title, and referred to the professors in the same way as "didaxii". It is known that Woodward suggested to Jefferson improvements and corrections in the classification of the latter's library. Very probably, Woodward sent a copy of this Act to Jefferson to illustrate still further his nomenclature and classification and this unwittingly furnished Jefferson with the plan or framework for his University of Virginia chartered in 1819. Apparently, to Richard and Monteith these names seemed of little or no importance, and an insignificant concession to get their cherished University past the Cerberus guarding the portals of Territorial legislation.

The vision came to Father Richard. How far into the future, with what magnitude, with what inspiration of faith or

²²*Michigan, A History of Governments*. Thomas M. Cooley. Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, 1885, pages 155-157.

²³For an able and detailed account see "The Real Origin of The University of Michigan," by William L. Jenks, *The Michigan Alumnus*, February 22 and 29, 1923. Volume XXIX, No. 318, pp. 565-569; No. 319, pp. 597-601.

with what clarity of vision he beheld the University, is impossible to determine. To Monteith and Woodbridge alone, of all of his contemporaries, did he confide any portion of it. So much of his vision, as expressed to them, staggered, not to say appalled, Monteith and Woodbridge. These men were truly great, but Richard had laid hold upon this vision, to them invisible. With a population of less than 7000 people, with all of the difficulties in communication, in resources and the problem of subduing the wilderness, so real and pressing, it was hard for them to follow him in the extensive, and what they believed, impractical, planning of this means of education. There is in the University Library a letter which indicates somewhat of that. It is dated: "Monday evening". It is presumed that this particular Monday evening was the 25th of August, 1817,²⁴ and that the contemplated meeting referred to in it was that at which the University of Michigan was founded by the American people through their delegated representatives, then governing the Territory of Michigan. The letter is addressed to Judge A. B. Woodward, and reads:

"Dear Sir: It was late before I could obtain the blank commissions. I was in pursuit of them last evening, but could not procure them. I called this evening upon Mr. Monteith. He expressed some reluctance to embark so extensively upon the plan as it was contemplated. I have, however, had a conference with him and with Mr. Richard also. Mr.

²⁴The governor, (acting), and judges met Tuesday, August 26, 1817. The meeting preceding that was Friday, August 8, 1817. Judge Witherell was not at that meeting, judging from the fact that measures enacted are signed by Lewis Cass as Governor, and Woodward and Griffin as Judges. The commissions to Monteith and Richard for their respective professorships are all dated September 12, (Friday), and 17, (Wednesday), 1817.

The first statute of the University bearing Monteith's signature as president is dated September 12, (Friday).

Monteith's diary under date of September 9, 1817, the first entry after August 20, 1817, states:

"A bill has just passed the Territorial Legislature establishing a University. In order to carry out its provisions, commissions have been made out for its officers. That for the office of President and six others embracing so many separate professorships have been offered to John Monteith, and 6 commissions embracing so many other professorships are offered to Gabriel Richard, the Catholic Bishop of Michigan." From this, the subject matter of the letter and the fact that on Tuesday, August 26, 1817, not only did the (acting) governor and judges meet and charter the University, but also, Monday, September 8, 1817, conferred the professorships on these two men and appropriated money for their salaries. Hence there is only one possible "Monday evening," viz., Monday evening, August 25, 1817. The evidences precluded the possibility of any other. The "Monday evening" must have been August 25. The entry in Monteith's diary "August 20, 1817, Judge Woodward invites me to an interview on the subject of a University," to my mind is only added confirmation.

Monteith will accept the presidency of the institution and several of the professorships. Mr. Richard will be willing to take the direction of one or two. The commissions are preparing. (Have had many visitors). The arrival of Judge Witherell will render it most decorous that we should postpone our contemplated meeting until after tomorrow as he cannot yet have rested from his fatigue. In the meantime, I shall find every wish to progress in the business as fast as may be.

Very respectfully yours,

WM. WOODBRIDGE.

Apparently, at this time, the draft of the Act had been informally agreed upon. The extensive nature of the project made Monteith hesitate. The Act could not be passed unless he promised to act as President. Reading between the lines we can see how William Woodbridge brought John Monteith into conference with Father Richard, who at last won his reluctant promise to undertake the direction of the University. Thus, on Tuesday, August 26, 1817, a charter was granted to the University of Michigan. The charter reads:²⁵

An Act to establish the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania. Be it enacted by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan, That there shall be in the said Territory, a Catholepistemiad, or University, denominated, The Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania. The Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania, shall be composed of thirteen Didaxium, or professorships; first, a Didaxia or professorship of Catholepistemia, or Universal Science, the Didactor or professor of which shall be President of the Institution; second, a Didaxia or professorship of anthropoglossica, or Literature embracing all the Epistemiim, or Sciences relative to Language; third, a Didaxia or professorship of Mathematica, or Mathematics; fourth, a Didaxia or professorship of Physiognostica or Natural History; fifth, a Didaxia or professorship of Physiophia or natural Philosophy; sixth, a Didaxia or professorship of Astronomia, or Astronomy; seventh, a Didaxia or professorship of Chymia or Chemistry; eighth, a Didaxia or professorship of Iatrica or Medical Sciences; ninth, a Didaxia or professorship of Aeconomica, or Economical Sciences; tenth, a Didaxia or professorship of Iatrica or Medical Sciences; ninth, a Didaxia or professorship of Polemitactica, or Military Sciences; twelfth, a Didaxia or professorship

²⁵This is copied from the official engrossed copy of the act at pages 53 and 54 of "Territorial Acts of Michigan," a written leather bound record book, of 639 pages, thirteen by nineteen inches, in the custody of the Secretary of State, Lansing.

of Diegetica or Historical Sciences; and thirteenth, a Didaxia or professorship of Ennaica, or Intellectual Sciences embracing all the Epistemim or Sciences relative to the minds of animals, to the human mind, to spiritual existences, to the Deity and to Religion; the Didactor or Professors of which shall be Vice-President of the Institution. The Didactors or Professors shall be appointed and commissioned by the Governor. There shall be paid from the Treasury of Michigan, in quarterly payments, to the President of the Institution and to each Didactor or Professor, an annual salary to be, from time to time, ascertained by law. More than one Didaxia or Professorship, may be conferred upon the same person. The President and Didactors or Professors, or a majority of them, assembled, shall have power to regulate all the concerns of the Institution, to enact laws for that purpose, to sue, to be sued, to acquire, to hold and to alien, property, real, mixed and personal, to make, to use and to alter, a seal, to establish Colleges, Academies, Schools, Libraries, Museums, Atheneums, Botanic Gardens, Laboratories, and other useful Literary and Scientific Institutions, consonant to the Laws of the United States of America and Michigan, and to appoint officers, Instructors, and Instructri in, among and throughout the various counties, cities, towns, townships and other geographical divisions of Michigan. Their name and style as a Corporation shall be "The Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania." To every subordinate Instructor and Instructrix, appointed by the Catholepistemiad or University, there shall be paid, from the Treasury of Michigan in quarterly payments, an annual salary, to be, from time to time, ascertained by law. The existing public taxes are hereby increased fifteen per cent; and from the proceeds of the present, and of all future public taxes, fifteen per cent are appropriated for the benefit of the Catholepistemiad, or University. The Treasurer of Michigan shall keep a separate account of the University fund. The Catholepistemiad or University may propose and draw four successive Lotteries, deducting from the prizes in the same, fifteen per cent for the benefit of the Institution. The proceeds of the preceding sources of revenue, and of all subsequent, shall be applied, in the first instance, to the acquisition of suitable lands and buildings; and books, libraries and apparatus, and afterwards to such purposes as shall be, from time to time by law directed. The *Honorarium* for a course of lectures shall not exceed fifteen dollars; for classical instruction, ten dollars a quarter; and for ordinary instruction six dollars a quarter. If the Judges of the Court of any County, or a majority of them, shall certify that the parent, or guardian, of any person has not adequate means to defray the expense of the suitable instruction, and that the same ought to be a public charge, the honorarium shall be paid from the Treasury of Michigan.

An annual report of the state, concerns, and transactions, of the Institution shall be laid before the Legislative power for the time being. This law or any part of it, may be repealed by the legislative power for the time being. Made, adopted and published from the laws of seven of the original states, to wit, the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan. At Detroit on Tuesday, the twenty-sixth day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred seventeen.

WILLIAM WOODBRIDGE,
Secretary of Michigan, and at present
acting Governor thereof.

A. B. WOODWARD,
Presiding Judge of the Supreme Court
of the Territory of Michigan.

JOHN GRIFFIN,
One of the Judges of the Territory of
Michigan.

The reader today should strike out precisely as the University, the people and officials of the Territory did, in using the Act, all of the alternative words beginning with "Catholepistemiad or". Practically the only use of these words are in this Act itself. These words in the Act have misled historians of the University into the error of picturing the period from 1817 as a pre-natal existence and as a thing apart from what they mistakenly deem "the real beginning" or real life of the University. This is a fundamental error. It totally disregards the facts. It is a detour that leads from historical paths to the bogs of conjecture and theory. The Governor and Judges, by an Act passed April 30, 1921, amended the charter,²⁵ and struck out all of this verbiage and made the name of the institution simply "the University of Michigan."

Judge Woodward himself realized that these names were nonentities. There is in the University Library a draft of a proposed amendment to this charter in the handwriting of Judge Woodward, dated 1818, from the context presumably written in October of that year, which likewise eliminates all this lingual gingerbread.

²⁵Territorial Laws I, p. 879.

There was printed in the *Detroit Gazette*, in its issue of Friday, January 15, 1819, a copy of the Charter under the heading and introduction:

MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

The following law, establishing the "University of Michigan," is given to the public without the technical names applicable to the professorships of the different departments of science, etc., in an institution founded upon the *epistemic system*. We have been favored, by a learned gentleman, with the technical names, together with some remarks on their superior utility, and an explanatory table, the whole of which we shall publish in due time.

W. L. D.

and then followed the Charter, with all of Judge Woodward's stilted and pedantic words eliminated. The article is reproduced herein so that the reader may judge for himself. There may have been sarcasm lurking in the words "learned gentleman", which could have referred to none other than Judge Woodward. The issue the week following contained a printed copy of "A Table of the Professorships of a University, constructed on the principles of the epistemic system",²⁶ together with a labored explanation, unmistakably from Woodward's pen.

John Monteith, the first President of the University, in his diaries refers to it by the words "the University" and to this act of August 26, 1817, as "the Charter of the University". In his diaries under the date of March 3, 1818 we find the following statement:

The charter of the University proving unsatisfactory, it was proposed to have it materially changed, the Governor appointed a committee consisting of John Monteith and A. G. Whitney, Esq., to draft a new law of more popular character.

²⁶In the Walker Collection in the University Library this same table is found in Judge Woodward's handwriting. Hinsdale-Demmon at page 9, and Shaw, facing page 8, reproduce this in their histories of the University as the "original draft." It is not clear whether these authors considered it an original draft of the charter or of something else, tho the charter is the subject of the context.

Sister Mary Rosalita, in "Education in Detroit Prior to 1850," (Michigan Historical Commission, 1928), does not reproduce this, but under the designation "The Catholepistemiad Act of 1817," at pages 141-143, pictures three pages of memoranda by Woodward containing the substance of the Charter, and of two other acts, as the Charter. A foot note on page 140 reads, "Not without reason did Judge Woodward deem it wise, when sending it to the press, to append to the Act the following notice: "Attention to typographical accuracy is respectfully solicited." This probably refers to the copy reproduced herein from *The Gazette*. And the *Gazette* was certainly accurate in eliminating his weird, coined words.

MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY.

The following law, establishing the "University of Michigan," is given to the public without the technical names applicable to the professorships of the different departments of science, &c. in an institution founded upon the *epistemic system*. We have been favored, by a learned gentleman, with the technical names, together with some remarks on their superior utility, and an explanatory table, the whole of which we shall publish in due time.

An ACT to establish the University of Michigan.

Be it enacted by the Governor and the Judges of the Territory of Michigan, that there shall be in the said Territory a University denominated the "University of Michigan." The University of Michigan shall be composed of thirteen Professorships; first, a professorship of universal science, the professor of which shall be President of the Institution; second, a professorship of literature, embracing all the sciences, relative to language; third, a professorship of mathematics; fourth, a professorship of natural history; fifth, a professorship of natural philosophy; sixth, a professorship of astronomy; seventh, a professorship of chemistry; eighth, a professorship of medical sciences; ninth, a professorship of economical sciences; tenth, a professorship of ethical sciences; eleventh, a professorship of military sciences; twelfth, a professorship of historical sciences; and, thirteenth, a professorship of intellectual sciences, embracing all the sciences relative to the minds of animals, to the human mind.

THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF THE CHARTER
Reproduced from the Gazette of Friday, January 15, 1819.

to spiritual existences, to the Deity, and to Religion; the Professor of which shall be Vice-President of the Institution. The Professors shall be appointed and commissioned by the Governor. There shall be paid from the Treasury of Michigan in quarterly payments to the President of the Institution, to the Vice President, and to each Professor, an annual salary, to be, from time to time ascertained by law. More than one professorship may be conferred upon the same person. The president and professors, or a majority of them, assembled, shall have power to regulate all the concerns of the Institution; to enact laws for that purpose; to sue, to be sued; to acquire, to hold, and to alien property, real, mixed, and personal; to make, to use, and to alter, a seal; to establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums, antheneums, botanic gardens, laboratories, and other useful literary and scientific institutions, consonant to the laws of the United States of America, and of Michigan; and to appoint officers, instructors, and instructrixes, in, among, and throughout the various counties, cities, towns, townships, and other geographical divisions, of Michigan. Their name and style as a corporation shall be "the University of Michigan."

To every subordinate instructor and instructrix, appointed by the University, there shall be paid from the Treasury of Michigan, in quarterly payments, an annual salary, to be, from time to time, ascertained by law. The existing public taxes are hereby increased fifteen per cent; and, from the proceeds of the present, and of all future, public taxes, fifteen per cent are appropriated for the benefit of the University. The Treasurer of Michigan shall keep a separate account of the University fund. The University may propose and draw four successive lotteries,

deducting from the prizes in the same fifteen per cent for the benefit of the institution. The proceeds of the preceding sources of revenue, and of all subsequent, shall be applied, in the first instance to the acquisition of suitable lands and buildings, and books, libraries and apparatus, and afterwards to such purposes as shall be, from time to time, by law directed. The compensation for a course of lectures shall not exceed fifteen dollars, for classical instruction ten dollars a quarter and for ordinary instruction six dollars a quarter. If the judges of the court of any county, or a majority of them shall certify that the parent or guardian, of any person has not adequate means to defray the expense of the suitable instruction, and that the same ought to be a public charge, the compensation shall be paid from the Treasury of Michigan. An annual report of the state, concerns, and transactions, of the institution shall be laid before the legislative power for the time being. This law, or any part of it, may be repealed by the legislative power for the time being.

Made, adopted and published from the laws of seven of the original States, to wit, the States of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New-York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, as far as necessary and suitable to the circumstances of Michigan, at the city of Detroit, on Tuesday, the twenty-sixth day of August, in the year one thousand eight hundred seven.

There is no doubt that this institution was the present University of Michigan. In fact it is *res adjudicate*. In the year 1856, the Supreme Court of Michigan in a cause in which the ownership of a property saleable at \$21,000 was determined by whether the University provided for in the State's Constitution of 1835 and the Act of the State Legislature of March 18, 1837, was a new University, or a continuation of this University created by the people of the United States in 1817, ruled:

The first act for the establishment of the University of Michigan was made and adopted by the Governor and judges of the Territory on August 26, 1817, and was entitled "An Act to establish the Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigan."

The principal features of this act, which demand notice as connected with the question involved in this case, are its comprehensiveness as indicated by its style, the broad scope of its objects and that it was to be supported by a public fund; all showing that it was intended to be a great public institution, embracing the whole territory, and such an one as would not admit of the existence of any other, similar in its character and purposes,—the act itself was repealed by a law adopted April 30, 1821, entitled "An Act for the establishment of a University." See Code of Laws compiled in 1827, page 448. By the Act of 1821 certain persons, therein named were created a body politic and corporate, by the name, style and title of the "Trustees of the University of Michigan,"—all the property, rights, and credits belonging to the corporation by the act of August 26, 1817, were vested in the new corporation.

The Legislature of 1837 passed an act entitled "An act to provide for the organization and government of the University of Michigan," Laws of 1837, page 102.

An examination of all the legislation relating to A University of Michigan leaves no doubt upon the question. In every act it is styled the "University of Michigan" and its objects are the same in all, though expressed in different language. It is true that the Act of 1837 makes no express reference to that of 1821, but it legislates upon the *same subject* and the quotation of the words "University of Michigan" in its title, is not without some significance, if it were otherwise doubtful, as indicating *what institution* was intended.

The fact that the location of the University was fixed by the law of 1821 at Detroit, and that by subsequent legislation it was changed to Ann Arbor, affords no ground of argument against this conclusion,—

the corporation was created for the purpose of administering a great public trust, and the present Regents are but Trustees for the same great purpose, and are the lawful successors of the original corporation.

On the argument of this cause, the counsel for defendants, read a very able and elaborate report from a committee of the regents to the Board, in March, 1837, requiring such committee to "Take into consideration the legal rights of the Trustees of the University of Michigan, and how far it is practicable to alter, by legislative enactment, the organization of that Board, so as to constitute the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan, the Trustees of the University of Michigan. After discussing the various questions *supposed* to be involved *this report brings to our notice an important fact*.—It states that "so satisfied are the Trustees of the old board of the absolute dissolution of the corporation, that, by a committee of their body, they have placed upon the journal of the Board, and the books of the Treasurer of that Board, their surrender of the proceeds of the land mentioned in the eighth section of their charter; and also yielded up the control and occupancy of the real estate in the city of Detroit." This shows that the Trustees practically gave the same construction to the Act of 1837 which we have given to it. They regarded their own powers as ended, and the Regents of the University as their successors, and as such, entitled to the possession and control of all the effects remaining in their hands for the use of the University. They did not doubt that the institution which was to be organized under the last mentioned act was the same which was contemplated by the act which gave them corporate existence; and they seemed to have acquiesced, without hesitation in that legislation which modified their charter provided for the appointment of their successors; and it is not improbable that their view of the legislation referred to was finally adopted by those who were immediately concerned in the question involved; for we do not learn that any active measures were ever taken in pursuance of the recommendation of the committee in order to place the Regents in the full and rightful possession of the corporate property.—*Regents of the University of Michigan v. Board of Education*, 4 Michigan, 213.

And this solemn judgment of this Court of last resort, has been followed by the following rulings:

The lot mentioned in the contract was conveyed in the year 1825, by the Governor and Judges of the Territory of Michigan to the "Trustees of the University of Michigan" as organized under the Act of 1821, for the use of the University; *Regents v. Board of Education*, 4 Mich., 214, holds the Regents under the present organization to be

the successors of said Trustees, or, rather, *a continuation of the same corporation*.—Regents v. Detroit Young Men's Society, 1 Mich. 138, (1863).

It was held in *Regents v. Board of Education*, 4 Mich., 213, that the present university is the same legal body with the University founded in 1817, and re-organized in 1821, so that grants made to the earlier corporation vested without further action in its successor. It has never been supposed that a city, or any other public corporation, changed its rights or identity by gaining or losing territory.—City of Grand Rapids v. Grand Rapids Hydraulic Co., 66 Mich. (1887).

The legislation affecting the organization of the University of Michigan is given in the case of *Regents v. Board of Education*, 4 Mich., 213, and need not be here repeated.—Auditor General v. Regents, 83 Mich., 476, (1890).

Held: That the Board of Regents could condemn land for "The Lawyers' Club," and quotes with approval the case of *Regents v. Board of Education*, 4 Mich., 213.—People v. Brooks, 224 Michigan, 45, (1923).

(To be continued)

THE EARL OF SELKIRK IN MICHIGAN COURTS

BY WILLIAM L. JENKS, M. A.

PORT HURON

SEPTEMBER 1, 1818, the Steamboat "Walk in the Water"—the first on the Western Lakes—left Buffalo on her second trip for Detroit. She carried a considerable load of freight and a large number of passengers, several of them well known and prominent in Michigan and national affairs. But the most notable passenger, and one of the most notable persons ever visiting Detroit, was Thomas, Earl of Selkirk, with his wife and two children. As the boat, after a slow voyage of five days, touched at the Detroit wharf about nine o'clock on Sunday, September sixth, 1818, the Sheriff of Wayne County, Austin E. Wing, sprang on board, and after ascertaining the identity of the Earl and finding him conversing in a knot of gentlemen, stepped up to him, told him he was under arrest and served him with a writ. The astonished Earl naturally inquired upon what demand, and was told at the suit of James Grant. Inquiring about lawyers in the small city of 1100 population, he decided on Solomon Sibley, then forty-nine years old, U. S. Attorney for the Detroit District, a resident of Detroit since 1796, a lawyer of high standing, and later Judge of the Territorial Supreme Court.

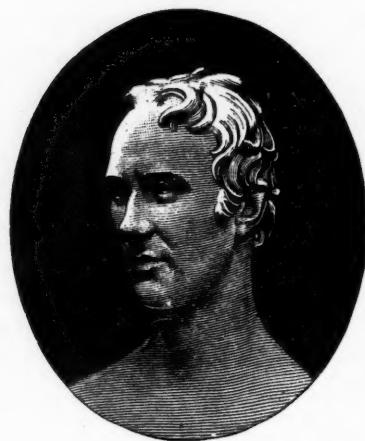
Mr. Sibley promptly attended his distinguished client, examined the writ, found that it had been issued September fourth upon the claim by Grant that Lord Selkirk had arrested him illegally and had taken him from the United States to Canada and had seized his property to his damage \$50,000.00. Upon the writ was endorsed the order of Judge A. B. Woodward fixing the bail at \$30,000.00, which would require him, under that penalty, to appear on the twenty-first day of September following and defend the case. Although it was Sunday, Mr. Sibley immediately set about finding sureties to satisfy the Sheriff, and obtaining James Abbott, a well known

citizen and merchant of Detroit, and Charles Larned, prominent lawyer, a very popular man and a very close friend of the Sheriff, and to make assurance doubly sure, he also signed the bond himself. This bond naturally proved satisfactory to Sheriff Wing and the Earl was released from custody and promptly left for the Canadian shore, which he was careful not again to leave, but returned Eastward by long and tedious journey overland.

Lord Selkirk—the Fifth Earl—was then forty-seven years of age; he had passed through three strenuous years of conflict with the Northwest Company over the Red River Settlement, and of litigation in various forms and at the time of his arrest, he was on his way to Sandwich to answer to an indictment for having wrongfully resisted arrest under a warrant served upon him at Fort William in 1816. His health was already affected and, in less than a year and a half, he was dead.

Rarely has a man of so much intelligence and good intentions suffered so greatly in reputation and finances. Born in 1771, the Seventh son of the Fourth Earl in Kirkcudbrightshire, he went, when fifteen, to the University of Edinburgh and six years later finished his scholastic education. When he was twenty-six, his older brothers had all died and he became the heir apparent to the Earldom to which he succeeded two years later. Although a Lowlander, he had early become interested in the unfortunate condition of the Highland Crofters, who, during the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, found themselves dispossessed of the small holdings which they and their ancestors had occupied for centuries. Sheep raising had become general and profitable, and the former tenants were no longer needed, and were in many cases evicted.

To Selkirk, after much thought, emigration seemed the remedy. Strongly English in his feelings, his attention was given to Canada as a place to locate the emigrants, and in 1802 he sent an agent to examine the country around Sault Ste. Marie with a view to establishing a colony there. In 1803 he sent 800 settlers to Prince Edward Island and they



Selkirk

Kirkudbright
October seven
1808

THOMAS DOUGLAS, 5TH EARL OF SELKIRK, F.R.S., ETC.

(From *Manitoba: Its Infancy, Growth, and Present Condition*, by Rev. Professor G. Bryce, M. A., LL. B. 1882. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, London.)

have formed an important element in the growth and prosperity of the island. In 1804, he settled several families at Baldoon on the Chenail Ecarte of Lake St. Clair. This was an unfortunate choice as a few years later, the waters of the lake rising, and in the War of 1812, seizing of farm animals by Americans united in the practical abandonment of the location.

In 1805 the Earl published a work entitled "Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a view of the Causes and Probable Consequences of Emigration".

In 1807 he married his wife, her connections having a considerable interest in the Hudson's Bay Company, which had great and exclusive rights under a Royal Charter of 1670 to all the lands watered by the streams running into Hudson's Bay. In 1808 Selkirk began purchasing stock in the Company with a view to being elected a Director, the Company having already suffered for several years from the active and well managed competition of the Northwest Company in the fur business. In 1811 the Hudson's Bay Company granted to Selkirk 116,000 square miles, comprising part of Manitoba, as well as parts of what later became the states of Minnesota and North Dakota, which he accepted with a view to establishing a large colony the boundary line between Canada and the United States not then having been determined. In this case, however, he met immediately with active and bitter opposition from the Northwest Company, which was greatly aided by officials of Canada and of England.

for 60

The Red River of the North was selected as the place where settlement was to begin and in 1811 the first consignment of settlers left Scotland, but for various reasons did not reach the locality until 1812. Then followed six years of terrible struggle. Other lots of settlers were brought on, Indians and whites instigated and sometimes led by Northwest Company men, attacked and destroyed the settlements and killed a considerable number of the settlers. In 1816, Selkirk himself took charge of a force going to the Red River by way of the

Great Lakes and took possession of Fort William on Lake Superior, which belonged to the Northwest Company. While there, a warrant for his arrest was signed by Dr. Mitchell, a Justice of the Peace, of Drummond's Island. In the belief that the warrant was fraudulent, Selkirk refused to submit to arrest. Unfortunately for Selkirk, the Northwest Company had the ear of Lord Bathurst in London, who was minister of the Colonies, and of Canadian officials even including some of the Judges. A Commissioner was appointed to examine into the differences between and actions of the two Companies, and, acting under explicit instructions from London, based upon ignorance and prejudice alone, Selkirk was bound over to appear for trial at Montreal on the charge of resisting arrest, and his bond was fixed at the outrageous amount of £6000. While this extraordinary bail for an unimportant action was required, nothing was done by the Canadian officials to bring to justice the Northwest men who had committed many and serious crimes. Upon appearing at Montreal, his matter was transferred to Sandwich in Upper Canada, where he was under indictment to appear under another charge for the same offence. On his arrival at Sandwich in April, 1818, one action against him was dismissed and on another he was bound over to appear at the next assizes in September, but the bail was reduced to £50, and on September 21 the Attorney General directed the indictment to be quashed and the case was postponed from session to session until Selkirk had left Canada.

As stated in the beginning of this article, Lord Selkirk arrived in Detroit, was served with the writ of arrest, procured his bond and got to Canada on a Sunday. His counsel promptly moved the Court to quash the service of the writ, because it was served on Sunday. The motion was twice argued before the Court of three members, Judges Woodward, Griffin and Witherell, the first time on September 28th, the second time October 7th. The prominence of the defendant and the high character of the counsel employed, Sibley for Lord Selkirk and A. G. Whitney and William Woodbridge for the

plaintiff, gave great interest to the case. Solomon Sibley, a native of Massachusetts, when twenty-six years old removed to Ohio, and two years later, in 1796, came to Detroit, where he remained during his long and active life. He held many and important offices, was at the time of this occurrence U. S. Attorney, and five years later became Judge of the same Court before which he appeared in this matter.

For the plaintiff appeared a young lawyer—at that time, City Recorder—Andrew G. Whitney, who later and, perhaps, partly because of the decision in this case, evinced a deep and bitter feeling of hostility to Judge Woodward. He was aided by William Woodbridge, an able lawyer of wide experience, and at that time Collector of Customs and Secretary of the

Territory.

Six days after the last argument, the Court decided the case, a long written opinion being handed down by Judge Woodward, the only one of the Judges who ever did give written opinions.

The opinion is a learned one, based evidently upon a careful and thorough examination of English decisions, the Bible, Civil Law authorities, church writers and Juris consults, and reaches the decision that arrest on civil process on Sunday was illegal at Common Law, and therefore the defendant was discharged. The opinion covers twenty printed pages, and cites four pages of authorities. The general opinion in the courts of the United States has been to the contrary of this decision, but all such opinions have been based upon an English decision which Woodward analyzed and his argument re-puting that decision is logical and strong. The result in this case in any event was in furtherance of real justice.

COURT MARTIAL OF GEN. WILLIAM HULL

BY JOHN G. VAN DEUSEN, PH. D.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE files of the War Department at Washington contain the following letter:

War Department, December 18, 1812.

Sir:—Your letter of the 11th inst. is received. Fortunately for you, the want of success which has attended the campaign will be attributed to the Secretary of War. So long as you enjoy the confidence of the government, the clamour of the discontented should not be regarded.

You are requested to make an exchange of General Hull, as soon as possible.

(Signed) W. EUSTIS.

Major General Henry Dearborn.

The lack of success which attended General Hull's campaign was not a unique feature in the land operations of 1812.¹ Dearborn had been equally unsuccessful on the Niagara frontier, although his operations had not resulted in a capitulation. But Dearborn is given to understand that his failures will not be held against him. The mention of General Hull in the next sentence suggests that the administration may be planning to saddle Hull with Dearborn's misdeeds as well as his own.

Yet Dearborn had been in large measure responsible for Hull's undoing. The following letters, taken from the files of the United States War Department, show that the government's orders to Dearborn were obeyed neither in letter or in spirit.

On June 26, 1812, the Secretary of War wrote to Dearborn as follows: "It is altogether uncertain what time General Hull may deem it expedient to commence offensive operations. The preparations, (meaning Gen. Dearborn's preparations) it is presumed, will be made, to move in a direction for Niagara, Kingston and Montreal".²

¹Records of U. S. War Department, VI, 253.

²Ibid., V, 458.

See Introduction to this article, "Detroit Campaign of Gen. William Hull," by Dr. Van Deusen, in the Magazine for July 1928.

On July 9 the Secretary of War wrote to General Dearborn: "You will order all recruits not otherwise disposed of, to Albany, or some other stations on Lake Champlain, to be organized for the invasion of Canada".³ With this official letter the Secretary of War sent a private one in which he said: "The blow must be struck. Congress must not meet without a victory to announce to them". These letters show that the War Department contemplated an invasion of Canada from the Niagara frontier.

On July 15 the War Department despatched the following letter to General Dearborn: "On your arrival at Albany, your attention will be directed to the security of the northern frontier by the lakes".⁴

On July 20 Dearborn received this letter from the War Department: "I have been in daily expectation of hearing from General Hull, who probably arrived at Detroit on the 8th inst. The first intelligence received from him will be communicated to you; enclosed is a copy of his last orders; you will make such arrangements with Governour Thompkins, as will place the militia detached by him for Niagara, and the other posts on the Lakes under your controul; and there should be a communication, and if practicable, a cooperation, throughout the whole frontier".⁵ This letter suggests that Dearborn cooperate with Hull.

Under date of August 1 the Secretary of War wrote the following letter to General Dearborn: "Enclosed herewith, you will receive a copy of a letter, from Brigadier General Hull, of July 19th, by express. You will make a diversion in his favour at Niagara, and at Kingston, as soon as may be practicable, and by such operations as may be within your controul".⁶ Here Dearborn is positively ordered to make a diversion in Hull's favor. It is impossible that Dearborn did not know of Hull's position as all of Hull's letters to Washington were immediately sent to Dearborn. Dearborn excused him-

³*Ibid.*, VI, 15, 16.

⁴Armstrong, *Notices of the War of 1812*, I, 206.

⁵Records of the U. S. War Department, VI, 35.

⁶*Ibid.*, 199.

self on the ground that he did not know himself to be the commander of the troops on the Niagara frontier.⁷ But after reading these letters which contain repeated references to that frontier, how was it possible for General Dearborn to make such a mistake?

Moreover, General Hull was allowed to understand that he would have Dearborn's cooperation. In a letter to Hull from the Secretary of War, dated July 26, we find the following: "General Dearborn will be apprized of your situation, and directed to keep up a correspondence with you, and to take measures to afford the necessary support".⁸ Yet Hull said that he never received a letter from Dearborn throughout the campaign.⁹

On August 1 the Secretary of War wrote to Hull as follows: "On the 26th of July, your letters of the 7th and 10th were enclosed to General Dearborn, with a copy of mine of the 26th, accompanied with a request, that he would make a diversion in your favor. By the mail of this evening, yours of the 29th is enclosed to him, with an instruction to make a diversion at Niagara and Kingston, as soon as practicable".¹⁰ Notwithstanding all these orders to "make a diversion" not a man of Dearborn's army crossed the Niagara River until August 8 when Dearborn entered into an armistice with the British general in which Hull was not included (although all other armies on the northern border were included) and of which Hull was not informed until told of it by General Brock after the surrender of Detroit.¹¹ This armistice seems to have been the result of information which Prevost received to the effect that the Orders in Council had been repealed. Prevost sent Adjutant General Bayne to Dearborn's headquarters at Albany to propose an armistice pending the reception of the news by Congress. Dearborn fell into the trap and concluded an armistice with the British commander which was not to ex-

⁷Letters of Dearborn to Eustis, July 28, Aug. 7, 1812, *Defense of Dearborn*, 4.

⁸Records of the U. S. War Department, VI, 126.

⁹Hull, *Memoirs*, 85.

¹⁰Records of the U. S. War Department, VI, 127, 128.

¹¹Hull, *Memoirs*, 62, 85, 89.

tend above Fort Erie. A copy of the agreement was immediately sent to Washington, but there was no rapid transportation and the British gained the object intended by the proposition—time.¹² In a letter dated August 15 the government disapproved of Dearborn's armistice and again ordered him to make a diversion in Hull's favor,¹³ though it was not until five days later that an attempt was made to inform the general at Detroit that an armistice had been concluded.¹⁴ In the meantime, Brock dashed off for Detroit and brought the campaign on the northwestern frontier to a close.

In the conduct of the court martial the government took advantage of every method by which it might advance its own case or hamper that of the prisoner. General Hull had lost many of his private papers by the capture of the Cuyahoga, and those which remained were lost during his transfer from Detroit to Fort George. According to his story, which is nowhere denied, he requested permission to examine the files of the War Department in order to copy documents needed for his defence. The permission was refused. The government expressed its willingness to allow its clerks to make copies of such documents as Hull might wish, but many of those which he requested were not to be found. He had no documentary evidence to exhibit except that which the administration, who was his prosecutor, saw fit to furnish him.¹⁵ Years afterward John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, permitted Hull to examine the records and the documents which had been denied him at the time of the trial were found.¹⁶ If the administration wished to conduct the prosecution on its merits why did it seek to suppress evidence?

The prosecution was represented by Philip S. Parker and Martin Van Buren, both possessing able legal talent. Gen-

¹²The manner in which the British regarded this armistice may be gathered from the following extract of a letter from Prevost to Brock, Aug. 30, 1812: "I consider it most fortunate, that I have been able to prosecute this object of the government, (the armistice) without interfering with your operations on the Detroit. I have sent you men, money and stores of all kinds." Armstrong, I, 207.

¹³*Records of U. S. War Department*, VI, 200.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 128, 129.

¹⁵Hull, *Memoirs*, 80, 81.

¹⁶They are incorporated in the *Memoirs*.

eral Hull was permitted the use of counsel, but his counsel were forbidden to examine or cross-examine witnesses, or to address the court. The accused, who was not skilled in law, was compelled to conduct his own defense.¹⁷

It is remarkable that many of the witnesses called by the government had been rapidly promoted since the unfortunate campaign of General Hull. Colonel Cass, who had shown such zeal in the prosecution, when called upon to testify, had attained the rank of brigadier-general. Colonel McArthur, an equally important witness for the government, held the same rank. Major Van Horn was now a lieutenant-colonel; Captain Snelling a major, Lieutenant McCormick a captain, Lieutenant Daliby a captain, and so the list might be continued until nearly all the witnesses for the prosecution were exhausted. As these gentlemen had done nothing military to deserve such rapid promotion, we can only suspect that they came to the trial decorated with new titles as a reward for the testimony which they were to render.

A departure was made from the ordinary procedure in that the witnesses were examined in the presence of each other, and their opinions admitted as evidence, even though they were interested in the event of the trial.¹⁸ Testimony was received which no stretch of imagination could bring under any of the specifications; evidence against which the General was unprepared to introduce testimony as he did not know it was to be offered. A sense of justice would indicate that a man on trial for his life, even in a military court, should know in advance of what crimes he is accused that he may properly defend himself if innocent.

Lastly, and perhaps the most monumental departure from justice of all, the man whose armistice made it possible for Brock to go to Detroit, General Henry Dearborn, whose military campaigns had met with little better success, sat as presiding judge. He was absent from his post for three months that he might preside over the trial of one who, partly

¹⁷Hull's address to the Court, *Forbes*, 9; *Memoirs*, 146, 147.
¹⁸*Memoirs*, 156, 169; Hull's defense, *Forbes*, 117.

at least, through his own inefficiency was placed in this position. Was this what Secretary Eustis had in mind when he wrote: "the clamor of the discontented should not be regarded"?

The charge of treason was based on three specific acts: (1) the hiring of an unarmed vessel, the *Cuyahoga*, and loading it with military papers which it was intended would fall into the possession of the enemy; (2) the retreat from Canada; and (3) the surrender of Detroit.

As we have already pointed out, if the administration had exercised proper diligence in informing its commander of the true situation, the *Cuyahoga* would never have been sent and would, therefore, never have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Hull received no word of a declaration of war until July 2, while the enemy at Malden was informed several days earlier, even though Malden was farther from Washington. Had the proper measures been taken knowledge of a declaration of war could have reached Hull as early as June 26. The person who was responsible for this disaster was none other than the Secretary of War.

Hull's invasion of Canada was an act contrary to his best judgment, having been forced upon him by the clamor of his troops and the orders of the War Department. His suggestions for the naval control of the Lakes were disregarded and, as he had feared, Tecumseh cut his line of communications with Ohio and Major Van Horn who was sent to reopen them was defeated and compelled to retreat with loss. The precarious situation of the American army in Canada is revealed by the following extracts from four letters written by Colonel Cass to his brother-in-law at Zanesville: "Provisions would become necessary for the existence of the troops"; "The impression made by that event (the fall of Mackinac) could scarcely be conceived"; "Is there nothing to be done in the lower end of the lakes to make a diversion in our favor?"; "Think our situation as bad as you may, it is still worse".¹⁹

¹⁹Hull, *Memoirs*, 66.

Another reason for the retreat from Canada was that heavy reinforcements of British troops were approaching with which Hull could not have hoped to deal successfully. Major Chambers was coming down the River Thames with six or seven hundred men. Proctor had arrived at Malden with reenforcements, the exact number of which Hull had no means of knowing. From Lieutenant Hanks, the American commander at Mackinac, Hull had learned that a force of Canadians and Indians were collected at Fort William ready to descend the lakes, and that a similar force was stationed at the outlet of Lake Superior. In addition to these letters received from Generals Hull and Porter on August 7 informed him that a large force was moving from the Niagara frontier in his direction.²⁰ The total British forces available at the western end of the Lake were, therefore, very considerable. Hull's officers speak of one hundred regulars and three hundred Indians at Malden; of militia reduced by desertion to two hundred and fifty and these leaving daily.²¹ This is manifestly an underestimation. General Brock would have no reason to magnify his numbers. According to his account the British force amounted to no less than seven hundred and thirty whites and six hundred Indians, a total of thirteen hundred and thirty.²² Lossing believes even this to be an underestimate and quotes Brock's on another occasion when he mentions having one thousand Indians with him at Amherstburg, thus giving him a total of seventeen hundred and thirty.²³ There were also the sailors of the naval force on the Detroit River, the detachment of Major Chambers, and a potential force of about six or seven thousand Indians from the North and surrounding country. To meet these Hull had an army of untrained, untried mutinous militia and three hundred regulars under Colonel Miller. The great mistake of General Hull, it seems to us, was his invasion of Canada before his artillery was prepared. Having made the mistake the best he could do

²⁰Hull's defense, appendix, 47, 48, 49.

²¹Testimony of Col. Van Horn and Gen. Cass, 71, 22.

²²*Military and Civil Life*, 362.

²³Lossing, *Hull's Surrender of Detroit*, 10

was to rectify it as far as possible, withdraw from a position which would soon become untenable, and make an attempt to reopen his communications with Ohio.

Concerning the surrender of Detroit, there are several stories which, if true, prove that Hull was in treasonable correspondence with the British. They occur mostly in secondary works who fail to mention their sources; and in no two of these accounts is the same story repeated.²⁴ Unsubstantiated and contradictory, we can do nothing less than reject them altogether. Even General Cass was compelled to admit at the trial that he did not think Hull guilty of treason.²⁵ This was the view of the court martial and on this charge he was acquitted.

There were four specifications in the charge of cowardice: (1) the retreat from Canada; (2) evidence of personal fear during the cannonade of the fifteenth and sixteenth; (3) evidence of personal fear during the crossing of the river by the British on the sixteenth, such as permitting them to cross unopposed, withdrawing his troops into the fort, and hastily sending flags of truce; and (4) the surrender of Detroit.

The question as to whether or not General Hull did show evidences of personal fear during the bombardment may be considered a mooted one. There is no lack of testimony on both sides. Snelling, Van Horn, Baker, Jessup, Fuller, Eastman, Philips, Miller, Peckham, Taylor, and Whistler testified that, in their opinion, General Hull did show evidence of personal fear. Major Snelling said: "I have always understood that the passion of fear is indicated by certain looks and actions; and, judging from past knowledge on that subject, I thought him under the influence of fear; his whole conduct made that impression on my mind at the time—The reasons that induced me to draw that conclusion were; that the General selected the safest place in the fort for his seat . . . his voice

²⁴Hatch, pages 42-45, 56 gives the details of the bargain he asserts was consummated. Lanman, *History of Michigan*, 199 speaks of "boxes of gold," and Farmer, *Detroit*, 278, gives the price which Hull received for the surrender.

²⁵Testimony of Gen. Cass, 26.

trembled when he spoke".²⁶ Captain Baker declared that General Hull "appeared to be embarrassed and at a loss how to act" and that he "could account for the surrender in no other way than by supposing him under the influence of personal fear".²⁷ Major Jessup declared that on the 15th Hull "appeared to be agitated... was very pale and much confused". He thought him "very much frightened".²⁸ Captain Fuller declared that on the morning of the 16, General Hull appeared "like a man full of anxiety, dull, heavy, and low-spirited". When asked on cross-examination "Do you not think that appearance might have proceeded from anxiety and the heavy responsibility I was under?" Fuller remarked, "I presume it would".²⁹ Captain Eastman said: "The general's whole conduct, on the evening of the 15th and the morning of the 16th, was such as to impress the witness with the conviction that he was under the influence of personal fear".³⁰ Lieutenant Philips testified that General Hull "appeared to be very much agitated, and he then supposed that he was under the impression of fear".³¹ Colonel Miller testified that he "did not think General Hull appeared much agitated on the 15th; but that on the 16th, he did appear so", although he could not "say whether the agitation proceeded from personal alarm, or from a consideration of the heavy responsibility in which he was involved". On cross examination it developed that Hull was in what Miller considered the safest part of the fort although it was also the most convenient for giving the necessary orders.³² Lieutenant Peckham testified: "I saw General Hull frequently at Detroit, on the 15th and 16th of August; and on the 16th, during the cannonade, he appeared to me to be much agitated; and the impression made upon my mind was, that he was under the influence of personal fear".³³ General Taylor said that he "saw General Hull several times on the 15th

²⁶Testimony of Maj. Snelling, 40.

²⁷Testimony of Capt. Baker, 85.

²⁸Testimony of Maj. Jessup, 89, 92.

²⁹Testimony of Capt. Fuller, 98.

³⁰Testimony of Capt. Eastman, 99.

³¹Testimony of Lieut. Philips, 104.

³²Testimony of Col. Miller, 110, 115.

³³Testimony of Lieut. Peckham, 130.

and 16th of August, and cannot say that the general's appearance made any impression on his mind on the 15th, as indicative of personal fear; that when the witness saw him early in the morning of the 16th, he appeared pensive and very low-toned; he did nothing to cheer the men or keep up their spirits; his countenance was dull, and his whole conduct made an impression on the mind of the witness that he was not as firm as he ought to have been; . . . he thinks General Hull was under the influence of personal fear (when the British were crossing).³⁴

Others told a different story. Lieutenant Bacon testified that on the morning of the 15th, during the cannonade, General Hull was seen in different parts of the fort. "He appeared engaged as usual, and agitated more than usual, on the morning of the 16th, but witness does not know the cause—he had no suspicion that it proceeded from personal fear; neither did he hear any officer at the time express an opinion that it did."³⁵ Captain Maxwell testified: "I saw General Hull riding on horseback, and cast my eye upon his countenance; his voice appeared cool and collected; I saw him ride off . . . I saw nothing like agitation."³⁶ Major Munson said: "The general's situation was a critical one. He had a great deal of responsibility, and great care on his mind if he had any feelings. I saw nothing in his conduct but what might be accounted for without recurring to personal fear."³⁷ Captain Dyson said that on the 15th he "perceived nothing unusual in his voice."³⁸ Colonel Watson testified that Hull "appeared perfectly tranquil and collected. . . . No person could have been more active and industrious, at the time of your arrival at Detroit." But he goes on to say that in his opinion there was a lack of "system." By this he explained that "knowing the zeal and integrity of the heads of the different departments, I supposed the general interfered in the different departments unneces-

³⁴Testimony of Gen. Taylor, 142.

³⁵Testimony of Lieut. Bacon, 124.

³⁶Testimony of Capt. Maxwell, 128.

³⁷Testimony of Maj. Munson, 131.

³⁸Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 133.

sarily."³⁹ Lieutenant Stansbury was unable to say whether General Hull was afraid or not. Speaking of the position of Hull during the bombardment he said that he saw him mostly "near the gate out of the way of the fire. There was no necessity, that I saw, for your being exposed in any other part of the fort, or on the parapet, to be fired at as a target."⁴⁰

The opinions of the officers as to whether Hull felt an emotion of fear during the bombardment is quite hopeless. Most of those who thought he did experience such an emotion were personal enemies; those who could detect no such emotion had little to gain by perjury. There seems to be a general agreement that Hull was in the safest part of the fort during the bombardment, but that locality was also the most convenient place to receive reports and give orders. "From this post I had the whole interior of the fort under my view," said General Hull, "and could communicate my orders to any part. Was I not then in a situation for a Commander? The court will recollect that Colonel Miller states, that he himself was sometimes with me, while I was in the place the witnesses have described—and the fact is, that every officer in the fort placed himself under the protection of the eastern parapet, when his duty did not require that he should be in a more exposed situation."⁴¹

In the third specification the government charged that General Hull exhibited personal fear in not opposing the enemy as they crossed the river, in not attacking them as they marched toward Detroit, and in hastily sending flags of truce. His motive in not attacking them seems to be that he had made up his mind to capitulate. He had decided that Detroit could not withstand a siege. The question resolves itself into this: Was the surrender of Detroit premature? Could the fort have withstood a siege? If so, how long, and with what results to the garrison? With a view to solving these ques-

³⁹Testimony of Col. Watson, 149, 151.

⁴⁰Testimony of Lieut. Stansbury, 86.

⁴¹Defense of General Hull, Appendix, 112, 113.

tions, let us examine the state of the defenses of Detroit, its provisions, ammunition, and garrison.

Fort Detroit stood on the highest ground in a circumference of three miles. It was a parallelogram, half-bastion fort composed of four curtains and four half-bastions, about one hundred yards on each face, not including the half-bastion; about seventy-five yards being the extreme length of the curtain. The fort was made partly of earth. The parapet was eleven feet in elevation and twelve feet thick at the top. A moat with an average depth of five or six feet and a width of twelve feet at the bottom ran around the work. In the bottom of this moat was a palisade made of sharpened stakes set in the ground close together. The height of this palisade was eleven or twelve feet. The gate was a strong one, made of planks; and over it was the lookout house. The gate was protected by a portcullis, well ironed. Sally ports were provided near the northwest and southwest bastions, and the whole fortification was well pierced for smallarms. The cannon which were mounted were generally in good order.⁴² Major Jessup thought that by cutting down the orchards and posting men in the gardens, a few soldiers might have defended themselves against the whole British force.⁴³ This is probably extreme for the third count of the indictment charges Hull with neglecting to strengthen his defenses. Colonel Cass said that the fort was not in the best condition.

The number of British who actually took part in the attack on Detroit is not known to a certainty. The figures given by Brock in his report are thirty Royal Artillery, two hundred and fifty regulars of the 41st Regiment, fifty of a Royal Newfoundland Company, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians: a total of thirteen hundred and thirty.⁴⁴ The return of Brock's quartermaster gives a total of thirteen hundred and ninety-four.⁴⁵ Colonel Cass is inclined to put the number as low

⁴²Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 81, 82; Hatch, 80.

⁴³Testimony of Maj. Jessup, 94.

⁴⁴Brock's Report to Prevost, Richardson, 64; Hatch, 74, 75.

⁴⁵James, *Military Occurrences*, I., 72

as possible, and places it at one thousand and eighty.⁴⁶ Captain, afterward Major, Snelling gives an estimate which, if true, would bring the British forces far above these figures. He counted seven hundred and fifty white militia, and this was about one-third of the total white force.⁴⁷ At this estimate Brock's white force amounted to two thousand two hundred and fifty to which we must add Indian allies, the lowest estimate of which is six hundred. Hull's report indicates that he thought there were almost as many. "The force brought against me I am confident was not less than one thousand whites, and at least as many savage warriors."⁴⁸

It is probable that the last figures are too high, just as the estimate of Colonel Cass is too low. Brock and his quartermaster were in a position to know the strength of the British forces, and it is probable that the number which they give is substantially correct. However, he is said to have had one thousand Indians at Malden on the day before.⁴⁹ If only six hundred of these crossed the river, he had four hundred others at easy call; and, at any rate, there was a potential force of savages from the northern lakes and territory about Detroit numbering several thousand. Captain Eastman said that two hundred and fifty Saginaw Indians arrived three days after the capitulation, and eleven or twelve hundred Mackinac Indians on September 10 and 11.⁵⁰ The accession of thirteen hundred and fifty Indians, taking the lowest estimates, would have brought Brock's force to over twenty-six hundred. He also possessed five pieces of artillery.⁵¹

In his report to Prevost, Brock places the number of prisoners taken at Detroit at twenty-five hundred.⁵² Professor Babcock in his *Rise of American Nationality* accepts these figures⁵³ as have several other historians of high rank. How-

⁴⁶The Cass letter is quoted by Richardson, 77-82.

⁴⁷Testimony of Maj. Snelling, 40.

⁴⁸Hull's defense, Appendix, 60.

⁴⁹Utley & Cutcheon, II, 202; *Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society*, XI, 70.

⁵⁰Testimony of Capt. Eastman, 100.

⁵¹Richardson, 52, 64; Hatch, 74, 75.

⁵²Richardson 52, 64, quoting Brock's despatch.

⁵³Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*, 92.

ever, it was to Brock's interest to make the number of the American force appear as large as possible, for the greater the force of his adversary the greater would be his glory in overcoming it. To make up the count of twenty-five hundred Brock seems to have included not only the actual soldiers but the inhabitants of Detroit who were inside the fort, many of them women and children, and also the American garrison from Mackinac who were non-combatants in Detroit on parole.⁵⁴ Major Jessup testified that the number of men fit for service exceeded one thousand, including four hundred Michigan militia, the detachment of McArthur and Cass, and thirty or forty armed wagoners.⁵⁵ If we subtract the three hundred and fifty who were absent with Cass and McArthur, we have a total remaining at the beginning of the siege of but six hundred and fifty of whom at least four hundred would be militia. Colonel Cass gave the number of Hull's force as one thousand and sixty in addition to which there were thirty or forty armed wagoners.⁵⁶ Subtracting Cass and McArthur's detachment we would have seven hundred and fifty in the fort at the beginning of the seige. On Colonel Cass' own testimony, at least one-half of these were militia; and two companies, Knagg's and Shover's had deserted.⁵⁷ General Hull thought he had eight hundred men at Detroit.⁵⁸ If we subtract the deserters we get a remainder of six hundred.

Of Hull's force at least one-half were militia.⁵⁹ Captain Fuller testified that these militia "were as well disciplined as militia usually are, and better than the Indiana militia under Harrison."⁶⁰ Lieutenant Bacon testified that they were insubordinate and undisciplined although he attributed this to want of experience.⁶¹ We know that a part of these militia

⁵⁴Hull's *Memoirs*, 125.

⁵⁵Testimony of Maj. Jessup, 94, 96.

⁵⁶Hull, *Memoirs*, 125; Richardson, 77ff.

⁵⁷Testimony of Col. Miller, 116; Hull's defense, appendix, 93.

⁵⁸Hull's defense, appendix, 74; Letter of Hull to Eustis, Aug. 26, 1812, *Niles Register*, III, 55.

⁵⁹Only three hundred regulars joined Hull at Urbana and there were ninety-four in Detroit when he arrived. Eighty-one regulars had been killed and wounded at Magagua so that a maximum of 313 regulars fit for service remained.

⁶⁰Testimony of Capt. Fuller, 104, 105.

⁶¹Testimony of Lieut. Bacon, 124, 125.

rode one of their officers on a rail at Urbana,⁶² that they mutinied at that place and refused to go farther until compelled to do so by Colonel Miller and the Fourth Regiment,⁶³ that some of them refused to cross into Canada,⁶⁴ that they ran at the first fire at Brownstown,⁶⁵ that some of them nearly mutinied in Canada,⁶⁶ and that they got up a round robin to depose their general at Detroit.⁶⁷ We know that Colonel Cass told Hull that if he retreated from Detroit he believed they would "desert to a man."⁶⁸ We know that two hundred of them actually did desert in the presence of the enemy when the British were preparing to attack Detroit.⁶⁹ This does not seem to us to be very good material with which to fight a British army of thirteen hundred and fifty, three hundred and fifty of them regulars and six hundred savages. In short, it would seem that the quality as well as the number of the American force was distinctly inferior.

There are four "official" returns of the Ordnance of Detroit. One is by Felix Troughton, lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Artillery, one by Lieutenant James Daliby of the Ordnance Department at Detroit, one by "one of the aids of General Hull and the British quartermaster" made up and furnished by Colonel Hatch and printed by him, and one called a "British official return" given by McAfee.⁷⁰ No two of these "official" returns are exactly alike. By a careful comparison we are able to make out that Hull had nine 24-pounders, eight 12-pounders, five 9-pounders, and possibly three 6-pounders and four 12-pounders not mounted. In addition to these there was the brass ordnance consisting of three 6-pounders, two 4-pounders, one 3-pounder, and two howitzers. Possibly five other howitzers should be added. The return of Troughton gives a

⁶²*Ibid.*, 124.

⁶³Testimony of Col. Miller and Lieut. Bacon, 116, 125.

⁶⁴Testimony of Gen. Cass and Maj. Whistler, 17, 153.

⁶⁵Testimony of Gen. Cass and Col. Van Horn, 20, 69.

⁶⁶Hull's *Memoirs*, 60.

⁶⁷Hatch, 40.

⁶⁸Testimony of Gen. Cass, 26; Hull, *Memoirs*, 64, 65, 164.

⁶⁹Testimony of Col. Miller, 116; Hull's defense, appendix, 93.

⁷⁰Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80; Hatch, 84, 85, 86; McAfee, 93.

Troughton's return is given in James, *Military Occurrences*, I, 367f.

total of thirty-three guns, that of Daliby thirty-five guns, that of Hatch thirty-eight guns, and that quoted by McAfee twenty-nine guns. Nearly all were mounted.⁷¹ Hull's ordnance was certainly superior to Brock's five pieces.

General McArthur testified that he saw many cannon balls about the fort and never heard of any scarcity.⁷² General Hull, on the other hand, complained that he did not have sufficient ammunition to make a successful resistance. There seems to be the greatest diversity of opinion on the subject. Hatch's return gives 480 rounds of ammunition for the 24-pounders.⁷³ McAfee's return shows 600 rounds for the same guns.⁷⁴ Captain Dyson thought there were only 100 rounds.⁷⁵ Lieutenant Daliby said there were 20 rounds of grape, 200 rounds of fixed ammunition, and 1400 balls for the 24-pounders.⁷⁶ Lieutenant Bacon testified that on the morning of August 16 he informed General Hull that the 24-pound shot were nearly expended, and that he searched with a dark lantern but could find no more.⁷⁷ If, as Bacon, Dyson and Daliby said, the 24-pound shot was nearly exhausted, then nine of Hull's guns were practically useless, for nine of them were 24-pounders. For the 12-pounders, Hatch said there were 840 rounds.⁷⁸ Dyson testified that there were only 50 rounds of canister for each of the eight 12-pounders,⁷⁹ and Daliby testified that there were 1700 balls for these guns.⁸⁰ If Hatch and Daliby were correct there was plenty of ammunition for the 12-pounders; but according to Dyson eight more of Hull's guns were practically useless for want of ammunition. With regard to the five 9-pounders we have practically the same situation. Dyson testified that there were but nine rounds of canister each,⁸¹

⁷¹Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80.

⁷²Testimony of Gen. McArthur, 61.

⁷³Hatch, 84, 85, 86.

⁷⁴McAfee, 92.

⁷⁵Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 134.

⁷⁶Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80, 81.

⁷⁷Testimony of Lieut. Bacon, 122.

⁷⁸Hatch, 84-6.

⁷⁹Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 134.

⁸⁰Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80, 81.

⁸¹Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 134.

while Daliby swore that there were 1400 balls for these guns.⁸² Some one must have been mistaken. Two of the returns gave 600 rounds to the 6-pound guns.⁸³ To this Hatch added 200 rounds of grape.⁸⁴ Daliby testified that there were 4000 balls for the four and six-pound guns together, or about 800 balls each. He said that at one time of the invasion of Canada 100 rounds each had been sent over with the 6-pound guns, and of this 80 rounds each had been expended.⁸⁵ He further testified that there were about 25 rounds for each of the 4-pound and 50 rounds for each of the 3-pound guns, and also 4800 balls for the 3-pounders.⁸⁶ Hatch said there were 200 tons of cannon balls of different sizes and 480 shells for the howitzers.⁸⁷ McAfee's return does not give any definite number of shells, but says that there were a considerable number.⁸⁸ The only definite figures we have on the question of shells are found in the testimony of Daliby: "290 ten-inch shells (not fixt) about 500 eight-inch shells, of which 100 were fixt; a large quantity (say 4000) of 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inch shells called hand grenades, a considerable number of which were fixed with powder and boxed.... as before stated there were 100 rounds of fixed for each of the 8 and 5-inch howitzers, about 7 having been fired, leaving the above number."⁸⁹

When Hull first arrived at Detroit Major Whistler was in command. Whistler testified that at one time there were in the fort about 100 barrels of powder of 100 pounds each, and that on the morning of the 16th only 48 barrels remained.⁹⁰ Lieutenant Bacon testified that three or four days before the surrender there were forty-two casks of powder of 107 or 112 pounds each.⁹¹ Captain Dyson testified that about fifty-six casks remained.⁹² McArthur put it as low as forty casks of

⁸²Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80, 81.

⁸³Hatch, 84-6; McAfee, 92.

⁸⁴Hatch, 84-6.

⁸⁵Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80-81.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷Hatch, 84-6.

⁸⁸McAfee, 92.

⁸⁹Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80, 81.

⁹⁰Testimony of Maj. Whistler, 151, 152.

⁹¹Testimony of Lieut. Bacon, 123.

⁹²Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 134.

about 100 pounds each," but McAfee and Hatch said there were sixty barrels,⁹³ and Captain Daliby testified that, while a good deal had been taken to fix ammunition, he believed that there remained 100 casks of 100 or 112 pounds each; or a total of 10,000 pounds of powder, including the fixed and unfixed.⁹⁴ Daliby "did not know exactly." But if there were only 100 barrels of ammunition in Detroit when Hull arrived and "a good deal" of that had been used up, it was quite impossible that there should be 100 barrels remaining.

In discussing the lead in the fort we meet another big discrepancy. Hatch declared that there was 150 tons,⁹⁵ while Daliby testified that there were only three and one-half tons of which a considerable quantity had been run into balls.⁹⁶ Daliby mentions that there were also in the fort "about 1800 fugitives in the rough... between 2000 and 3000 priming tubes, several of which were fixed for immediate use; about 100,000 flints."⁹⁷

Detroit was well supplied with muskets. From one source we learn that nearly 2400 stand of arms were surrendered,⁹⁸ and this is the smallest number given in any return. There seems to have been a good supply of cartridges. Whistler testified that when Hull arrived he had 5400 dozen.⁹⁹ According to Hatch 75,000 cartridges were surrendered in addition to 25 rounds which each man had in his box.¹⁰⁰ McAfee gives about the same number.¹⁰¹ Lieutenant Bacon did "not recollect the quantity of cartridges made, but thinks about 106,000" all under his direction, "exclusive of those brought from Urbana and those at Detroit when the army arrived there." There were fired off by the Ohio volunteers "as many as were issued, almost as fast as they were made, on some

⁹³Testimony of Gen. McArthur, 61.

⁹⁴Hatch, 84, 85, 86; McAfee, 92.

⁹⁵Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80.

⁹⁶Hatch, 84, 85, 86.

⁹⁷Testimony of Capt. Daliby, 80.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*

⁹⁹McAfee, 93. Daliby (p. 80) gives 2500, and Hatch (84ff) 3050.

¹⁰⁰Testimony of Maj. Whistler, 151, 152.

¹⁰¹Hatch, 84ff.

¹⁰²McAfee, 92.

days...many of the covers of the cartouch boxes were insufficient to protect the cartridges from the weather, and many were consequently damaged by it."¹⁰³ From this mass of conflicting testimony it is impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to whether or not the fort could have stood a siege. Captain Dyson, whose testimony is favorable to Hull, said he supposed that the ammunition would have lasted for two or three days, constant firing.¹⁰⁴

The matter of food must also be considered. General McArthur testified, and Hatch agreed with him, that there were provisions for twenty-five days in the fort besides other provisions in the power of the army. Major Whistler testified that before the American army recrossed from Canada there were two or three hundred barrels of flour, forty-eight barrels of pork, sixteen or seventeen barrels of salt beef, and twenty barrels of whiskey at Detroit; and that only a couple of wagon loads of these had been taken out before the surrender. He thought Detroit could have held out for two months.¹⁰⁵ Hatch said there was "an abundance of subsistence in the vicinity, besides the great number of cattle, sheep, and horses feeding on the common."¹⁰⁶ Major Whistler also referred to eight or nine hundred sheep.¹⁰⁸ Cass thought there was enough meat on the hoof to last for several months.¹⁰⁹ But we must not forget that, in the event of a siege, the animals grazing on the common would not be obtainable.

Cass said there was a large quantity of wheat in the territory, and there were three mills within eight miles of Detroit.¹¹⁰ McAfee also mentions the wheat of the territory as a means of subsistence within the power of the army.¹¹¹ This might, indeed, be counted upon so long as Brock remained on the Canadian side of the river. But with Detroit surrounded

¹⁰³Testimony of Lieut. Bacon, 122.

¹⁰⁴Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 134.

¹⁰⁵Testimony of Gen. McArthur, 61; Hatch, 86; McAfee, 92.

¹⁰⁶Testimony of Maj. Whistler, 152, 153.

¹⁰⁷Hatch, 86.

¹⁰⁸Testimony of Maj. Whistler, 152.

¹⁰⁹Testimony of Gen. Cass, 23.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹McAfee, 92, 93.

with a force of British, Canadians, and Indians it might be difficult to obtain wheat and have it ground "within eight miles of Detroit."

According to Colonel Watson the inhabitants of Michigan did not raise enough for their own use.¹¹² Captain Maxwell testified that "he had lived thirteen years in Ohio, and had been engaged every year, in driving cattle and hogs, from thence to Detroit market; from a thousand to fifteen hundred hogs annually, from 150 to 200 pounds each . . . and from a hundred and fifty to two hundred head of cattle."¹¹³ Colonel Kingsburg testified that "he commanded at Detroit about two years, and left it in 1811, and that during the time he commanded there, there were large droves of hogs, and fat beef cattle, driven from Ohio, to that market."¹¹⁴ Colonel Watson testified: "There were great quantities of flour and whiskey brought from New York and Pennsylvania, and cattle and hogs from Ohio . . . these last are purchased by the inhabitants for their consumption, and, in times of peace, they are also purchased by the British agents and carried to Malden."¹¹⁵ In view of the sworn testimony of these gentlemen it would seem quite impossible to have drawn upon the inhabitants of Michigan without producing a state of want among them . . . even if a British army had not barred the way. Several spoke of the supplies of Brush on the River Raisin.¹¹⁶ But they were still many miles away. Three expeditions had been sent out to reach them, and all had failed. Certainly these provisions could not be counted on in the event of siege.

It must be evident then that Hull could depend only upon the supplies actually inside the fort. On July 9 David Beard, Contractor's agent, issued a report of the supplies available in Detroit: "125,000 rations of flour, 70,666 rations of meat, 110,000 rations of whiskey, 12,800 rations of vinegar, 150,000 rations of candles, 300,000 rations of soap."¹¹⁷ On July 28 he

¹¹²Testimony of Col. Watson, 149.

¹¹³Hull, *Memoirs*, 76.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵Testimony of Col. Watson, 140.

¹¹⁶Testimony of Col. Cass, 23; Hatch, 86; McAfee, 93.

¹¹⁷Beard's Report, Forbes, 154, 155.

reported the presence of "70,000 rations of flour, 21,000 rations of salted meat, 150,000 rations of whiskey." If Hull had eight hundred effective soldiers in addition to McArthur's detachment of three hundred and fifty, at the time of the surrender, and two hundred sick and wounded, he would have had thirteen hundred and fifty mouths to feed. There were about eight hundred inhabitants in Detroit at that time. These would have been fed from army stores in the event of a siege. The garrison of Mackinac was in Detroit on parole and they were helping to consume the provisions. If a ration of meat per day were issued, the meat would have been exhausted by August 6... ten days before the capitulation. If an additional quantity of flour were issued from that date to make up for the loss of meat, the flour would also have disappeared by August 16. Perhaps some meat on the hoof may have been drawn upon in the days before the British crossed the river. Yet if the diminution of stores between July 9 and 28, as shown by Beard's report, is any criterion of the rate of consumption of food, the supplies must have been nearly exhausted at the time the British crossed the river.

Here, we believe, is the motive which actuated Hull's conduct. Attacked by superior numbers, his provisions nearly exhausted, he felt Detroit could not have withstood a siege. If provisions had been available he had ammunition sufficient for two or three days, possibly longer. But what would the resistance have cost? Brock's letter stating that the savages would not be under control after the contest began was no idle threat. The massacre at Fort Dearborn during the same year, and the massacre at the River Raisin the year following prove the reality of the menace. Feeling surrender inevitable, Hull preferred to save the inhabitants of Detroit at the sacrifice of his reputation.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸"I inquired of the general if it was possible we were about to surrender. He said something about the enemy's force and terms, but I could not recollect what; his voice was at this time tremulous; I mentioned that we could at least hold out till we were joined by Colonels Cass and McArthur. He exclaimed, 'My God! what shall I do with these women and children?' Testimony of Maj. Jessup, 92.

The charge of neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct is based on seven specifications: (1) Neglect to discipline and review the troops on the march from Urbana to Detroit, (2) placing military papers on board an unarmed steamer, (3) neglect to repair the defenses of Detroit, (4) neglect to transport the artillery to the Canadian side, postponing, and finally abandoning the attack upon Malden, (5) permitting his communications to be severed and failing to reopen them, (6) abandonment of the bridge over the Aux Canards, and (7) permitting the enemy to land unopposed at Springwells and neglecting to attack them on their march to Detroit.

Hull admitted that he did not review the troops on the march from Urbana to Detroit, but explained that he was moving over ground covered with swamps and forests through which a road had never been cut. Colonel Miller testified "there was no opportunity for disciplining them. The fatigues of cutting the road, with the march, was as much as they could endure";¹¹⁹ and Captain Maxwell testified "General Hull conducted the army from Urbana with as much regularity and caution as I have ever seen practiced."¹²⁰

As for the second specification, General Hull admitted that the military papers ought not to have been placed on the *Cuyahoga*, nor did he intend that his aid-de-camp should include them in the "baggage" to be sent by water.¹²¹ If the responsibility for this blunder is General Hull's, let the government make the most of it.

But it certainly is inconsistent to charge him with unofficer-like conduct because he neglected to fortify "the works of said Fort Detroit (which) were greatly damaged and dilapidated" and at the same time charge him with cowardice for surrendering a fortress of such irresistible strength! To insist that he should have repaired Detroit when the War Department ordered him to invade Canada!

He is charged with neglect of duty for not sooner transport-

¹¹⁹Testimony of Col. Miller, 113.

¹²⁰Testimony of Capt. Maxwell, 128.

¹²¹Hull's defense, appendix, 26.

ing the artillery to the Canadian side, for not attacking Malden, and finally for abandoning the attack. Captain Dyson testified: "I think General Hull . . . made use of all the means in his power that circumstances admitted of . . . several artificers who did not belong to the army were employed in this work. . . . In the short time allowed everything was done that could be done. . . . I do not think more could have been done without more hands."¹²² It certainly would have been un-officer-like conduct to have attacked Malden without the artillery, especially as two of his officers agreed that it was too strong for the force which he possessed.¹²³ A majority of the officers in council had agreed that it was best to wait for the artillery,¹²⁴ and by the time the artillery was ready Malden had received such reinforcements that Hull believed it to be impregnable.¹²⁵ With his untrained army of militia men and his knowledge of the savage character of a portion of the opposing force he dared not invite a defeat for fear of the consequences to the civilian population of Michigan.¹²⁶

The fifth specification charges that Hull allowed his communications to be cut. His total force, on his arrival at Detroit, was eighteen hundred men. In the nature of things it was not possible to guard the road to Ohio and conduct an attack on Canada at the same time. Those who remained on the western side of the river were engaged in preparing the artillery for transportation. It was not possible, with his small force, to invade Canada and leave more men behind. It was necessary to keep the army together. It must all be on one side of the river or the other. The War Department ordered it to Canada, and Hull obeyed orders.

The detachment under Van Horn was probably too small, yet a portion of the blame for the disaster to that expedition must rest on Van Horn himself. He was warned of the presence of the savages, and yet he passed on without flanking

¹²²Testimony of Capt. Dyson, 132, 133.

¹²³Testimony of Maj. Munson and Maj. Kemble, 131, 78.

¹²⁴Testimony of Gen. Cass, Col. Van Horn, and Maj. Kemble, 31, 66, 67, 78.

¹²⁵Hull's defense, appendix, 52; *Memoirs*, 57, 58, 63.

¹²⁶Hull's defense, appendix, 45, 46, 52.

guards.¹²⁷ Again, we think that Hull made a mistake in ordering Colonel Miller back to Detroit after he had opened the route to the Raisin. Yet Miller could have proceeded earlier in the day had he sent back a squad of men to gather up the knapsacks of provisions which had been thrown off at the beginning of the battle, the want of which, he said, kept him from proceeding.

Doubtless it was hard for Miller to retreat from the Aux Canards after his capture of the bridge. Possibly better generalship should have suggested the advance of the American army to that point. Yet such an advance would probably have brought about a general engagement which Hull wished to avoid until he received the heavy artillery.

Lastly, he is charged with neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct in permitting the enemy to erect barriers unopposed, in permitting them to cross unopposed, and in neglecting to attack them as they advanced toward Detroit. But at this time Hull decided that he had no alternative but to surrender, and he preferred to capitulate without the loss of life on either side rather than exasperate the savage forces of the enemy from which he could then expect no quarter.

Several of Hull's old Revolutionary comrades were called to testify as character witnesses. Captain Maxwell declared that he had never heard his character impeached during the Revolution.¹²⁸ Colonel Larned said "I was acquainted with General Hull during the Revolution, and never heard of anything which placed him beneath any officer. His character was good."¹²⁹ General William North testified: "General Hull's character in the army was that of an active intelligent officer... General Hull always did his duty."¹³⁰ Colonel Robert Troup testified: "It was considered that General Hull's conduct during the campaign was that of a brave, active, and intelligent officer; and he was always received by the com-

¹²⁷Testimony of Col. Van Horn, 68.

¹²⁸Testimony of Capt. Maxwell, 129.

¹²⁹Testimony of Col. Larned, 136.

¹³⁰Testimony of Gen. North, 136.

mander-in-chief accordingly; that his conduct in the action of the 19th of September (Bemis Heights) was considered at headquarters as being very gallant; and that no officer was more respected or more esteemed than General Hull."¹³¹ Lieutenant Lemuel Clift testified that General Hull "always sustained the character of a good officer, and one of the best from the state he belonged to."¹³² Colonel Richard Platt testified "his character stood in cardinal points; intelligent, brave, active, and enterprising... I knew him afterward as Lieutenant-Colonel. He was in 1778 selected by me to command on the lines, when the service required a man of the first talents; he conducted himself highly to the satisfaction of the general and every one. He remained until the enemy came with a large force and he was ordered to retire."¹³³ Several others who did not testify directly sent letters and depositions, all praising Hull's activity and bravery during the Revolution.¹³⁴

On March 26, 1814, the court martial at Albany arrived at a verdict. General Hull was acquitted of treason but convicted of cowardice on all counts. He was declared guilty of the first, fourth, sixth and seventh specifications charging neglect of duty and unofficer-like conduct, and guilty of that part of the fifth specification of that charge which declared that he had allowed his communication to be severed and had sent Van Horn with an inadequate force to reopen them. On the second and third specifications of that charge he was declared not guilty. The sentence of death was passed, although the court recommended him to the mercy of the President. On April 24 President Madison approved the finding of the court and its sentence, but remitted its execution. Nevertheless, General Hull was dishonorably discharged and his name stricken from the rolls of the army.

As a result of this study we have arrived at several conclusions. First, Hull's sense of propriety was somewhat

¹³¹Testimony of Col. Troup, 137.

¹³²Testimony of Lieut. Clift, 138.

¹³³Testimony of Col. Platt, 145.

¹³⁴Letter of Major Seth Bannister, deposition of Adjutant Tufts, certificate of Gen. Heath, Letter of I. Brooks, Letter of Maj. McCaken, deposition of Col. Kingsburg, deposition of Lieut. Hubbell, Forbes, appendix, 1-6.

distorted and his conduct of the campaign was replete with errors. He should have exercised better judgment in sending the *Cuyahoga* when he knew the expected enemy to be so close at hand. Doubtless he should not have permitted a British officer to have entered his camp unblindfolded. He certainly should not have crossed into Canada so soon after his arrival at Detroit. Had he busied himself in perfecting his defenses, mounting his artillery, gathering reinforcements, and drilling his militia he would have been in a position to have advanced immediately upon Malden when time had shown the wisdom of assuming the offensive. Instead he frittered away his time in a fruitless invasion of the enemy country and found his fortifications defective and his supplies inadequate when he himself was attacked. Probably he should have sent a stronger detachment under Major Van Horn. We think it was a serious blunder to recall Colonel Miller after the battle of Magnaga. But mistaken judgment is not cowardice. The government was largely to blame in placing a sixty year old general in command of such an exposed post as Detroit. One cannot expect to find the fire and vigor of young manhood in a body of three score.

Secondly, Hull's was not the only failure in the first year of war; nor was he solely responsible for the failure of his own campaign. The government was honeycombed with inefficiency. The neglect of the Secretary of War to inform his own general of a declaration of hostilities needs no comment. The failure to inform him of Dearborn's armistice adds sloth to assininity. For a commander to admit, as Dearborn did, that he did not know what troops were under his command was to disqualify himself for judging the conduct of a fellow officer. To make an armistice with the enemy he was sent to fight and allow that enemy to throw his entire strength against another commander of a common country while he did nothing is to cast grave reflection not only upon his own mentality but his loyalty as well. Some of Hull's officers are also deserving of censure for their demands to invade Canada without

orders, for their fault finding while in the enemy country, for their failure to attempt to curb the mutinous spirit of their soldiery. True, Hull had no confidence in them; but had they conducted themselves in such a way as to inspire confidence?

Instead of distributing the blame impartially, we are forced to conclude that the government allowed the entire condemnation to fall upon the head of a Revolutionary hero. He was made the scape-goat for inefficiency everywhere, and on his head was laid the sins both of those at home and in the field. Hampered in his defense by a denial of access to the official records, denied in effecting the right of representation by counsel, the government neglected to throw about him the safeguards which are granted to the meanest criminal. And what shall we say of the composition of the trial court? Not "packed," perhaps, but certainly unfairly constituted with Dearborn in the president's chair. If the intention of the government were not to "railroad" its victim, at least the conduct of the case gives that impression.

The decision of the court martial blasted Hull's reputation and sullied his whole career. Yet before 1812 his record was without a stain. He distinguished himself for his gallantry at White Plains. He was in the thick of the fight at Trenton. He faced the hottest fire at Princeton. He was not afraid to meet the Indian peril in the expedition for the relief of Fort Stanwix. He led a charge at Bemis Heights. He distinguished himself at Monmouth. He was with Wayne's band at Stony Point. Age may have robbed him of his vigor, but shall we say that gray hairs can make a coward of such a man?

HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN STATE FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

BY IRMA T. JONES

LANSING

(Continued from the Summer Number)

WHEN the Michigan State Federation entered upon its eleventh year, Federation had passed its experimental stage, writes Mrs. Lois L. Felker, its eighth president. She adds, "Much time had been consumed in the early years arguing the benefits and answering the question, 'What are we to receive from Federation'?"

The General Federation had for fifteen years been demonstrating the power of organized womanhood. The clubs of the State were now beginning to accept as fact organization into larger spheres of usefulness, and were asking not so much, "What shall we receive?" as "What can we give?" "How can we equip ourselves for our own work and for the larger work?" Each year has added to the education of club women along these lines; as a result, the altruistic spirit rather than the selfish one begins to be more manifest.

From Mrs. Felker's "Greeting" to the 172 Clubs in the Federation when she became president, is quoted the following:— "A new corps of officers greets you; four have had experience upon the Board of Managers; all but one of these hold a new relation. I have confidence that every member of this new Board will give of her best to the year's work. I have confidence in the twelve thousand loyal club members whom we shall represent, that they will uphold the interests of the Federation.

"The Woman's club of today is the University Extension for the woman who is out of college life. It is the educational institution of the altruistic woman. Our Federation of clubs stands for union of effort; our Committee work is the means by which much of this will be made effective. To this end our



MRS. LOIS L. FELKER

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standing committees will need the cordial support and assistance of each club woman."

At this time the number of Michigan Clubs in the General Federation was 17; the number owning club houses 112; the number of clubs using State Traveling Libraries, 54. From the report of the Corresponding Secretary it is shown that there has been a steady and creditable increase in altruistic work; 66 clubs did something for education; 75 worked more or less for town improvement, 41 accomplished some kind of philanthropic work. Twenty-four new clubs were received this year. The mid-year meeting of the Board of Managers was held in Grand Rapids in April, 1905. Total receipts for the year, including payments for the "Stone Memorial" were \$4,494.54. Disbursements were \$3,482.96; balance in treasury, \$1,011.58.

The Eleventh Annual of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs was held in Kalamazoo, October 17, 18, 19, 1905. By invitation of the two federated clubs of Kalamazoo, —the Twentieth Century and Ladies Library Association. No better record of that Eleventh Annual can be given than that written by Mrs. Belle M. Perry for the *Charlotte Tribune*.

"Those privileged to attend the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs absorbed more or less of it and are passing it on to others, not only in club reports but in daily life. 'We are a part of all that we have met.' In this sense the Federation convention is not, after all, a thing of the past, but something living and vital, that cannot die. And this is one of the great reasons why such meetings are valuable.

"Judge Julian V. Mack, of the Juvenile Court of Chicago, gave the large part of an evening to a story of what this new movement in dealing with the child criminal is doing for the boys, and hence for society; and all over Michigan as a result is awakened an intelligent interest in one of the most vital reforms of the present day.

"Mrs. Jenny C. Law-Hardy, a life-long resident of Austra-

lia and New Zealand, but who has become a resident of Michigan, told the absorbingly interesting story of these remarkable countries and made our Michigan women realize how far our own country lags in the march of progress and how feeble are the efforts of organized womanhood without voting power, as compared to such efforts in a country where men and women stand on equal terms before the law.

"Mrs. Nellie Kedzie Jones' address on 'The Making of Patriots' was another feature of the convention. Obedience, service and sacrifice were given as the fundamentals of a patriotism that will not only die for its country in case of need, but live for it in the common every day, which is a thing of much more vital importance.

"The committee reports at this convention were perhaps the most encouraging ever given. The efforts of past years begin to count. Women are awakening and a process of education is going on. A fine address was given by Bishop Gillespie of Grand Rapids following one of the reports. It was written out of his long and valuable experience in philanthropic work in our State.

"The meeting in Kalamazoo was a most fitting time and place to announce the completion of the Stone Memorial Fund. The committee, especially Mrs. Lucy F. Andrews of Three Rivers, chairman, and Miss Clara A. Avery of Detroit, custodian of the funds, to whose untiring efforts such success is due, deserve the lasting gratitude of the Federation. This living monument to Michigan club women as well as a memorial to their promoted club mother, was the largest permanent work undertaken at that time by a State Federation. In the city where Mrs. Stone had lived, among her personal friends, and as guests of the clubs which she attended, it was a great satisfaction to announce that the fund was complete and had entered upon its usefulness.

"More and more it becomes evident that the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs is a splendid and growing power for good and that the spirit of service penetrates every

branch of its work. There is absolutely no place in it for the self-seeking woman. She comes sometimes but she is either cured or found out and so cannot harm the cause.

"An important change in the Constitution made at this Kalamazoo Annual should be noted. The By-Laws were changed so as to reduce the representation of all clubs having a membership of one hundred or less, to one delegate, at the annual conventions, and providing for additional representation for larger clubs as follows: One delegate and one additional dollar dues for each additional 100 membership. Too much cannot be said in praise of those fine Kalamazoo Club women and their families and the scores outside who co-operated with them in providing so admirably for the convenience and comfort of all. The music was of a superior order, the newspaper reports were never better in any city. There was universal praise for Mrs. Felker as a presiding officer and for her faithful secretaries. Indeed, appreciation of the workers was the order of the convention."

Quoting again from the words of Mrs. Felker:—"The slogan of the first meeting of this administration held in Kalamazoo, was *Read your Manual*. Many questions were asked and repeated, the answers to which were to be found in the Federation Manuals, of increasing value from year to year and which were prepared with so much labor and care, that they had become an encyclopedia in regard to club work. Each year had brought so many of the same questions, that the answer now crystalized into the slogan, *Read your Manual*. Each previous year had also urged cooperation between the State Federation Board, its officers and committees and the individual club members, the replying to messages and communications, and requests to follow suggestions. Education along these lines was evident, and all work much more satisfactory and effective. The legacy of the preceding administration was the Library Committee, with a representative in each congressional district. This committee reported the hearty co-operation of the State Board of Library Commissioners, the

helpfulness of the State Librarian, and acknowledged the aid of a club letter written by Mrs. Felker to accompany the Library Extension Circular. Nineteen traveling libraries were placed, in addition to much valuable effort in promoting interest and knowledge in regard to the State aid to libraries which Michigan offers her people. Sixty-nine clubs were reported as taking advantage of traveling libraries in their study. Another memorial was launched, to perpetuate in the growing of the Washington Elms and Gnikgo trees the memory of the first chairman of our Forestry work. It was especially fitting that the name of Mrs. Martha E. Root should be perpetuated by the distribution of these beautiful trees furnished by her brother, and managed by her personal friend, Mrs. Carrie W. Miller who was the Federation chairman of this special committee."

One of the measures which received the enthusiastic support of our legislative committee was the first Juvenile Court Bill. While the bill presented to the Legislature was not the one drafted by our committee, in the interest of harmony and the desire to secure the passage of the measure, if all would concentrate their efforts, it was determined to use every means at command of the committee to aid in the adoption of the bill, which for a time became a law, but was later pronounced by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. However this led to the framing of the present law which has proven so satisfactory in its application.

This same legislative committee with Mrs. Jeannette O. Ferris as chairman, became intensely interested in what the State was doing or not doing for the care of the Feeble-Minded. Upon invitation of the chairman of the State Board of the Institution for the Feeble-Minded, Mrs. Ferris visited the Institution, became conversant with its needs and in conjunction with the President of the State Federation, used the machinery of that organization to aid in securing an appropriation that was much needed. After the Legislature had granted a much larger amount than had been obtained for years, and

which was to be used for a greatly needed Manual Training Department, the chairman of the State Board sent a personal letter of thanks to our legislative committee for the aid the Club women had given, expressing the opinion that so large an appropriation could never have been obtained without their assistance.

The General Federation recommended that the standing committees of state organizations be made uniform with those of the General Federation. Heretofore each State Federation had arranged its committees as suited its own inclination. Those of Michigan differed in some instances. At the meeting in Kalamazoo the list was made to conform with those of the General Federation.

The Woman's Forum, Marshall, was made the official organ of the State Federation, without financial obligation, for one year.

At this time, the officers of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs were:—President, Mrs. Lois L. Felker; First Vice-president, Mrs. Frances Wheeler Smith, Hastings; Second Vice-president, Mrs. Lucy Williams, Lapeer; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Sarah Marshal Weaver, Charlotte; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Margaret Temple Smith, West Bay City; Treasurer, Mrs. Florence G. Mills, Kalamazoo; Directors, Mrs. Emma Nichols Wanty, Grand Rapids; Mrs. John O. Sharp, Jackson; Mrs. Marguerite W. Sly, Lansing; Mrs. Ella S. Chaffee, Plymouth.

During her one or two years of service, the views of a president of the State Federation in regard to the possibilities of the work enlarge greatly. Much that she sees that in her opinion could be done she must pass on to her successor as recommendations, in the hope that the future may crystallize it into work. One of the needs of this administration was some satisfactory means of communication between the Board of Managers and the Clubs. *The Interchange* was no longer published. The necessity of some better way of communicating than circular letters was becoming more and more apparent.

The plan of a Club Bulletin was framed, estimated, and urged as a recommendation upon the incoming administration in the hope of its adoption and the experiment tried.

The mid-year meeting of the Board of Managers preceding the 12th Annual Convention to be held in Benton Harbor, was held at the home of Mrs. Lucy White Williams, Lapeer, in April, 1906. The entire Board with the chairman of the program committee were entertained in the home of Mrs. Williams, where many social features were enjoyed, among them an artistic rendering of "Enoch Arden", given with music by a Detroit artist and an accompanist. This pleasure was shared with the club women of Lapeer. Another unique and interesting event was a play given for the entertainment of the Board at the Home of the Feeble-Minded by inmates of the Home under the direction of the teachers.

The Annual Convention held in Benton Harbor, October 16, 17, 18, 1906, was by invitation of the three federated Clubs of that city; the Ossoli, the "Daughters of Ossoli" and the Chautauqua Alumni. For the first time in its history, one of the smaller cities entertained the State Federation. This was possible owing to the fact that the representation was reduced the previous year from two delegates to one delegate per Club. Even with this reduction it meant the entertainment of 230 women. But Benton Harbor with its population of 8,000 was equal to the emergency. Never was the Federation more hospitably welcomed and more royally entertained. The meetings were held at Bell Opera House, where the platform was tastefully decorated with Autumn fruits. The convention was one of the most interesting and inspiring in the history of the Federation. The principal address of welcome was given by Mrs. Katie Putnam Emery, president of Ossoli Club. Mrs. Emery's welcome gave a happy send-off to the program, which contained many features of unusual value. Most noteworthy was the lecture of the opening evening by Dr. Emily Brainerd Ryder of Chicago, who had spent thirteen years in India. She was the founder of the Bombay Sorosis, a sis-

terhood of high class young wives now numbering upwards of 200 and holding regular meetings similar to the club meetings of this country and affiliated with the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Reports given by different standing committees revealed anew the power of the Federation to spread ideas and to inspire clubs to do things worth while. These reports showed also the wide scope of Federation endeavors. There were papers given as follows:—"The Relation of the Dairy and Food Department to the Home," by State Chemist, F. W. Robinson; "Humane Societies," by Mrs. Carrie A. Barre, Hillsdale; "The State Library—Its Relation to the People," by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, State Librarian, Lansing; "Tuberculosis," Dr. James C. Solis, Ann Arbor; "Patriotism," Mrs. Knapp, Howell; "What State Registration of Nurses Means," by the president of the State Association, Miss Sarah E. Sly; "Coming Legislation," Rev. Jeannette O. Ferris; "Recent Progress in Almshouse Reform," Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane; "Women Wage Earners and Child Labor in Michigan," by the State Commissioner of Labor, Mr. Malcolm McLeod; "Systematic Saving," Mrs. Ramsey, Kalamazoo; "Our Friends, the Trees," Mr. Enos A. Mills, of Colorado, a man who devotes his life to the tree interests of our country; "Why Michigan Needs the Juvenile Court," by Judge Alfred Wolcott of Grand Rapids, who was at the head of this court in Grand Rapids through the two months of its existence in Michigan.

Action was taken authorizing the Board of Managers to publish three issues, 500 copies each, of a bulletin to serve as a medium of communication between officers and committees and federated clubs, after the manner of *The Interchange*. This was named *The Michigan Club Bulletin*.

The Convention voted to make the chairman of the Forestry Committee a member of the State Forestry Association. A gift of ten dollars was made to the Federation by a member of the convention to be used in payment of annual dues for this purpose.

A committee of Corrections and Charities, to work in co-operation with the State Board of Corrections and Charities, was added to the list of Standing Committees.

Provision was made for a preliminary half-day meeting for a Club Conference on the afternoon of the opening day at the next annual meeting.

An unusual fact to be credited to this administration, is the making of a Michigan Club map, found in the Manual for 1905-1906. This map shows the location of the 185 federated County Almshouses, County Jails, and heavy lines indicate clubs affiliated at this time, the several State Institutions, Congressional Districts, all rendering the map invaluable to standing committees of the Federation.

The officers for 1905-1906, the second of Mrs. Felker's administration were:—President, Mrs. Lois L. Felker, Grand Rapids; First Vice-president, Mrs. Frances Wheeler Smith, Hastings; Second Vice-president, Mrs. Marguerite W. Sly, Lansing; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Sarah Marshall Weaver, Charlotte; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Margaret Temple Smith, West Bay City; Treasurer, Mrs. Florence G. Mills, Kalamazoo; Directors, Mrs. Augusta D. Barnes, Howell; Mrs. Cyrus E. Perkins, Grand Rapids; Mrs. H. R. Reynolds, Manistee; Mrs. Adell Halbert McMaster, Hancock.

Report of treasurer at this annual, showed total receipts, \$1,269.78; disbursements, \$799.75; balance, \$470.03. Mrs. Ellen M. Nims, of Muskegon was General Federation Secretary for both years of Mrs. Felker's administration.

The president visited a goodly number of clubs by invitation some of them twice; it was always aimed to set forth the Federation work and to urge cooperation. The Michigan State Federation has ever been quick to take advantage of every possibility for usefulness presented. This administration sought continually to uphold that endeavor; standing for a reverent acknowledgment of an overruling God, self-culture, philanthropy, good industrial conditions, and all that pertains to highest ideals in the Home, the State, and the Nation.

(To be continued)

EARLY LAMPS IN THE STATE PIONEER MUSEUM

BY E. F. GREENMAN, PH. D.

THE problem of illuminating the darkness has occupied the attention of man for many thousands of years, long before the torch of civilization was held aloft. Lamps of a kind are known to have been used some twenty thousand years ago, and they doubtless extend many centuries further back than that. Very likely the discovery of fire does not far antedate the use of what, for all practical purposes, may be called lamps, for any portable object which would carry fire is entitled to the designation. The earliest lamps were very crude affairs, made of stone, bone and clay, made without much regard for their appearance. As civilization advanced, lighting devices were improved upon, both functionally and aesthetically, and somewhere about 2000 B. C., very shapely little lamps were made of bronze. Later, both the Greeks and Romans made lamps of alabaster and of metals which show both in workmanship and in design an artistic ability of a very high order. The fuel burned in them however was made from fats and oils and resinous woods, and gave rise to very unpleasant odors. One of the early Greek writers, in speaking of the pale smoky flame from fats and oils says, "One could not enjoy the good things of the table until his indulgence in wine had made him indifferent to the stench of the smoking lamps".

From our own point of view, with our very complex methods of lighting, the stone, clay and bronze lamps of prehistoric times were not very much improved upon until about the middle of the Eighteenth Century, and the homes of our Pilgrim forefathers were illuminated with little lamps of iron and tin which burned much the same kind of fuel as the lamps of the Bronze Age, and with about the same amount of illumination. In Figure 1 is a little brass "Betty lamp", on its wooden stand, the type which was used up to Colonial times in America, and thereafter to some extent. Most of the Betty

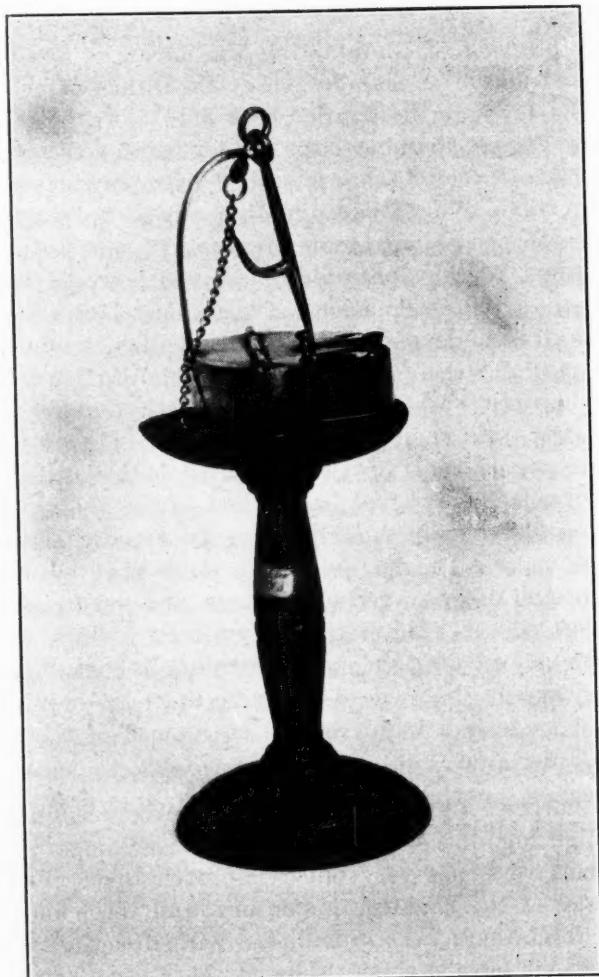


Fig. 1—A brass Betty lamp and its walnut stand.

lamps of this period were made of iron however, and such a lamp is shown in Figure 2, number 647. An iron Betty lamp very similar to this one was purchased in Holland by Captain John Carver, first Governor of Plymouth Colony, just before he sailed.

This small iron lamp resembles very closely the old Greek, Roman and Assyrian lamps, and in principle it is exactly the same. The oil which it burned was obtained by the early Colonists from the swarms of small fish found in great abundance along the Atlantic coast. The spout, at the right end, contains an iron tongue which is raised above the bottom of the lamp, and upon this the wick was elevated. The wick was constantly becoming crusted over, and the small pick at the end of the chain was used to free the wick from soot and carbon. The twisted spindle fastened to the handle was used either to hang over the back of a chair, or upon a nail, by the hook, or to fasten the lamp in position by sticking the sharp end between the stones of the fireplace. Number 628 in Figure 2 is a very interesting variant of the early iron lamp, with its open-top oil font swinging from side pivots on an iron stand of rather pleasing proportions. In the center of the oil font is a small iron rod upon which was supported the wick. The lamp to the right of number 628 is functionally something of an improvement over the other, although in appearance it falls far short. It reminds one very much of one of the long-nosed men made up of tin dippers, pails, oil-cans and other pieces of tinware in "The Wizard of Oz". This little lamp was made to hang on a nail on the wall, by a hole in the piece of iron at the top of the oil font opposite to two spouts. The oil font consists of two parts, the top spout being fastened to the font proper, which comes out of the part which is supported by the column. The top spout is for the wick, which extended out of it a little, and the oil which failed to burn dripped off the end of the spout into the lower one, which carried it back into a shallow container beneath the font proper. By this device a saving in fuel was made. An interesting fea-

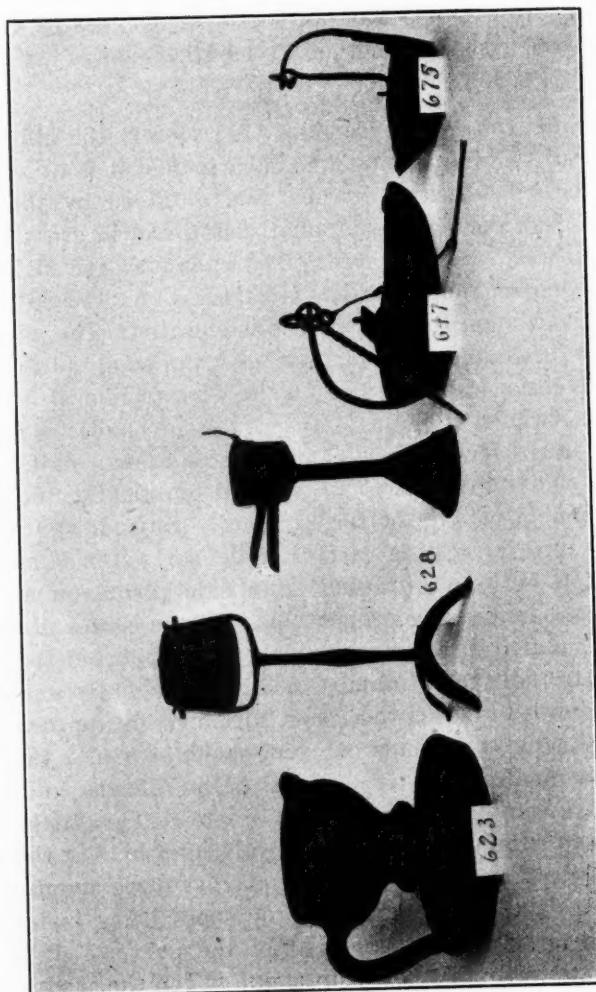


Fig. 2—Early American iron and pottery lamps.

ture of this lamp is the flat side of the cone upon which it stands, to facilitate the hanging of the lamp on the wall, and perhaps to keep it from swinging in the gusts of wind which came in through the cracks between the logs of the house. Number 675 is another Betty lamp, of simpler construction than the one at the left. The wick and the oil, the latter long since coagulated into grease, still remain in the font of this lamp. Number 623 is a very rare specimen, an earthenware grease lamp, with the lip on the side for the twisted rag wick. The Dutch settlers of Pennsylvania made such lamps as this, although this lamp seems to be of a later form, the earlier ones being entirely open at the top.

Returning to Figure 1, we see the iron Betty lamp somewhat dressed up, no doubt for use in the Puritan or Colonial parlor. This little lamp, sitting upon a small walnut stand about ten inches in height, is constructed of three different metals, brass, iron and copper. The bottom of the lamp is copper, and is soldered to the brass sides. The handle and staple are made of iron, and the pick is at the end of a brass chain. Like number 675 this lamp has a cover for the oil font which lifts up on a hinge. The spout, which held the wick, and may be seen protruding from the top of the lamp, is of the same piece as the iron handle, at the end of an arm of the handle running along the inside of the copper bottom at right angles to the upright part.

It is an interesting comment upon the spirit of the times during which these lamps were used that none of them are in any way decorated on the outer surface. The nearest approach to anything which might be called decoration on these lamps is the twist in the staples of numbers 647 and 675. The lamp to the right of number 628 was at one time painted black however, in an attempt to cover up the soldered seams and joints, a process which was unnecessary in the other iron lamps in the illustration, which were wrought out of solid pieces of iron.

The first iron lamps in America were brought over from

England on the *Mayflower* and other ships,—“Made in England,” but soon the American spirit of independence manifested itself, and upon the discovery about the year 1630 of a deposit of bog iron some ten miles from Boston, now within the limits of the town of Saugus, a smelter was set up and the manufacture commenced of iron utensils such as pots, kettles and agricultural tools, and, without doubt, iron Betty lamps. The house of the owner of this first of New England foundries is still standing, and doubtless its preservation is largely due to the fact that it was surrounded with the dwellings of a small army of workmen sufficiently strong to ward off the attacks of roving bands of Indians, for many of the early houses in New England were destroyed in encounters with the aborigines.

Iron lamps, being clumsy and heavy, were made for only a relatively short time, and were soon supplanted by lamps of tin and pewter, which at first followed closely the lines of the iron ones, but later, as the Colonists established themselves more firmly in the New World there was more time for attention to the comforts of home, improvements were made upon the earlier tin lamps. Although they were used at a later date, good types of all old tin lamps are now rarely found and are highly valued by collectors.

In Figure 3 are four tin lamps which are fairly representative of their class. Number 656 is called a “petticoat-lamp”, the explanation of the name being found in the shape of the base. The “petticoat” surrounds a peg socket about an inch and a half long, by which it is said that the lamp was secured on a side upright of the high ladder-back chair then in use, thus placing the light in such a position as to be most advantageous to the reader sitting in the chair. Whale-oil was used in this lamp, which was filled through the tube at the side, and it had two wicks, the tin tubes for which are soldered to a brass cap which screws into a brass ring which is similarly fastened to the body of the lamp. The tube for filling the lamp, at the side, is also topped with a brass cap which screws on in the same manner.

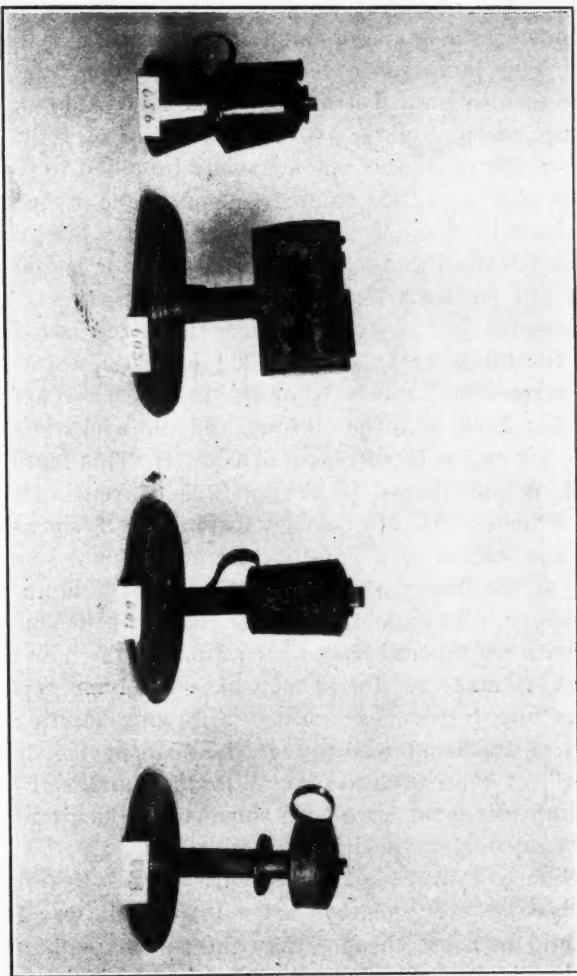


Fig. 3—Japanned tin lamps and a "candlestick" lamp.

Number 603 (Figure 3) is one of the most interesting tin lamps in the Museum collection, since it is stamped with the name of the maker and the date upon which the patent was taken out for this type of lamp: "D. Kinnears, Patent Feb. 4, 1851". This lamp has a very broad wick, the tube for which may be seen in the illustration, on the right side of the top of the lamp, raised slightly above the body, or oil-font. The wick is still in the tube, and was evidently intended for lard-oil. At the opposite end of the lamp is a small tube, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, through which the lamp was filled. Number 601 in Figure 3 is a Japanned tin hand-lamp, blue with a gilt border around the rim of the saucer. This lamp was intended for lard oil, having tubes for two broad, flat wicks, the tubes, made of tin, being soldered into a brass ring which screws into the body of the lamp. They extend about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches down into the oil-font, and the wicks are separated by two flat and pointed plates of copper. This lamp it will be noticed, is embellished by a stencilled conventional floral design. Number 608, at the right of Figure 3, shows an interesting adaptation of a candle-stick of the "hog-scraper" type to use as the base for a grease or whale-oil lamp of a very simple type. The candle-stick is made of pewter, and the lamp, with its tapered base which fits into the hole of the candle-stick, is made of tin. This make-shift lamp certainly presents an ungainly appearance, with its ring handle at the top, instead of its usual position at the edge of the drip-pan, or "saucer", of the candle-stick. With the handle at the top in this manner it must have been somewhat difficult to carry the lamp in an upright position.

In Figure 4 are two lamps with glass oil fonts. Glass lamps became very common after 1830, as it was found that they could be made cheaper than the tin lamps, but these two lamps in Figure 4 represent a period in which the use of glass was in more or less of an experimental stage. The little lamp at the left of the picture, number 627 is probably a tavern, or "sparking lamp". It is said that such lamps as this one were

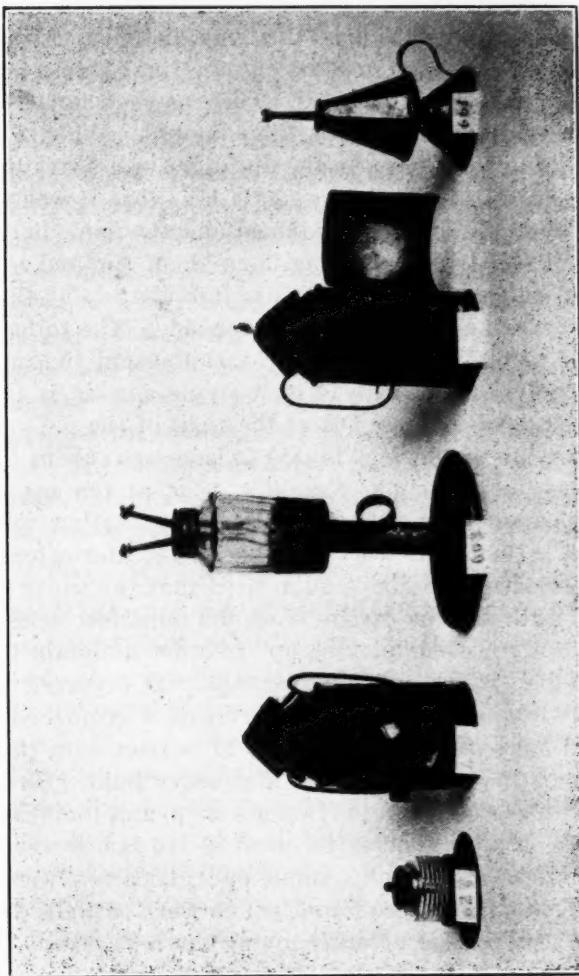


Fig 4—Tin "hand lamps" and "Bull's eye" lanterns.

used in taverns. When a guest wished to retire he was given one of these little lamps to light his way, and if, as was often the case, he had imbibed more than was consistent with equilibrium, and happened to drop the lamp, little harm was done. And if the guest forgot to blow out the light before going to sleep, not much oil was wasted. Perhaps such lamps as this one are better known as "sparking lamps". When a young lady entertained her beau by the dim light of a sparking lamp it was generally accepted as a gentle hint that it was time to go home when the oil was exhausted and the flame burnt out. The base of this little "sparking lamp" is of tin, and the wick passes through a tin cap which fits into the top of the lamp by a cork which is glued to the under side. The taller lamp, in the middle of the picture is a rather unusual tin and glass lamp, with two wicks instead of a single one, as is the case with the tin lamp number 661 at the right of the picture. The change from the single wick is said to have come about through an invention of Benjamin Franklin, who, at the age of ten, began his career in the shop of his father, a tallow chandler, in Boston. He began work cutting wicks, and after a few years experience with lamps he noticed that the wicks became encrusted with soot or carbon from the imperfect combustion and constantly needed "picking up" in order to obtain the best light possible, which was poor enough. It occurred to him that two wicks, side by side, would create a stronger current of air and more oxygen would come in contact with the wick, thus insuring freer burning and a stronger light. He experimented with the lamps in his father's shop, and found that his theory was correct. Thereafter most of the lamps were made with two wicks instead of a single one, and a few were made with three, but these were found not to work so well, the twin wicks for some reason or other giving the best results. Numbers 656 and 655 in Figure 4 are "Bull's eye" lanterns, or watchmen's lanterns, of the type used about 1830, constructed to burn whale or lard oil. One of these lanterns has two, and the other a single wick.

In Figure 5 is a group of pewter lamps. The collecting of pewter lamps is a very fascinating hobby, for they offer almost infinite variety in size, shape and workmanship, and moreover they are more numerous than the earlier lamps of iron and tin. Pewter is an alloy of lead, tin, copper and sometimes antimony and zinc. It is a very soft metal, easily scratched, bent and broken, so that a dish platter often became badly worn or marred and was sent to the pewterers to be recast. It was quite natural therefore, that since this metal was convenient and well adapted for the purpose, the manufacture of lamps of pewter should commence and continue for many years. At first the pewter lamps closely followed the lines of the tin ones, with the oil font below and the wick at the top coming through a small circular spout, although occasionally one may be found resembling the Betty lamps. Such a lamp is shown in Figure 5, number 2190. While this lamp was made in Germany, as indicated by the mark of the maker, "I. Borini," stamped upon the bottom, lamps of this type were probably in use by the Pilgrims in Massachusetts.

Second from the right end in Figure 5 is a pewter lamp with the unusual feature of a wheel to regulate the broad flat wick, which burned lard oil. Lamps of this type, as may be imagined, are of quite a late date, one of them having been used in the house of General Robert E. Lee at Arlington, Virginia, in 1840. The two remaining lamps in Figure 5 are camphene burners, as indicated by the unusually long wick-tubes. Camphene was a product of refined turpentine which came into quite general use about 1845 to 1850. Unlike whale or lard oil, it was highly explosive, and to prevent any danger of the flames getting down into the oil font, the wick tubes were made longer, as in these two lamps. It will be noticed in the illustration that the second lamp from the left has five wicks, a very unusual feature of pewter camphene lamps.

Only two of the lamps in Figure 5 have the mark of the maker stamped upon the bottom. It is very rare to find a lamp with any pewter's mark on it for the reason that many

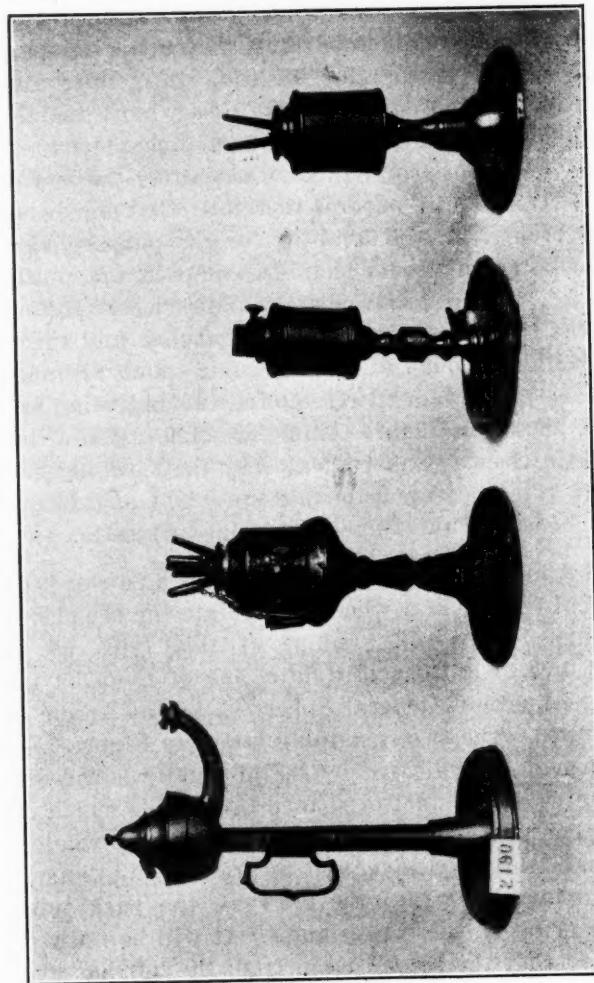


Fig. 5—Some rare pewter eamphene and oil lamps.

of the pieces were recast from discarded plates, platters and so forth. In England, the pewterer's guild was very large and influential. Strict watch was kept over its members and many rules were laid down as to standards of workmanship, material and so forth. Each master pewterer was required to register his private mark, which was stamped on each piece with other marks indicating the quality of the metal, place of manufacture and other information. An X on the bottom of a plate indicated that it was of the first quality of "hard mettle ware", as it was called. Any unscrupulous maker endeavoring fraudulently to stamp his wares as of better quality than they really were, was severely dealt with.

Brass lamps, which came later than the tin and pewter ones, seem not to have been made in such abundance as brass candle-sticks, for they are comparatively hard to find. The reason is probably to be found in the fact that glass lamps were then being made in such quantities and sold so cheaply that there was little demand for brass lamps.

In Figure 6 are five brass lamps, one of which, a camphene lamp with a glass oil font and a marble base, is probably a late form. Second from the right of the picture is a "marine lamp", also a double-wick camphene burner. This lamp swings on pivots so that no matter what the rolling of the vessel the lamp remains upright. At the back of the lamp may be seen a ring at the edge of the "saucer", the function of which may readily be appreciated, since the handle of the lamp is on the opposite side. This little ring was used to hang the lamp from a convenient hook, the lamp itself remaining upright while the base acted as a kind of reflector. The two lamps numbered 620 are a pair of very finely proportioned whale or lard oil lamps which were probably used in the parlor or guest room.

Even in such a brief account as this is of the development of lamps from Puritan times to a decade before the Civil War, something of the history of that period may be discerned. The sternness and simplicity of the Puritans are reflected in the

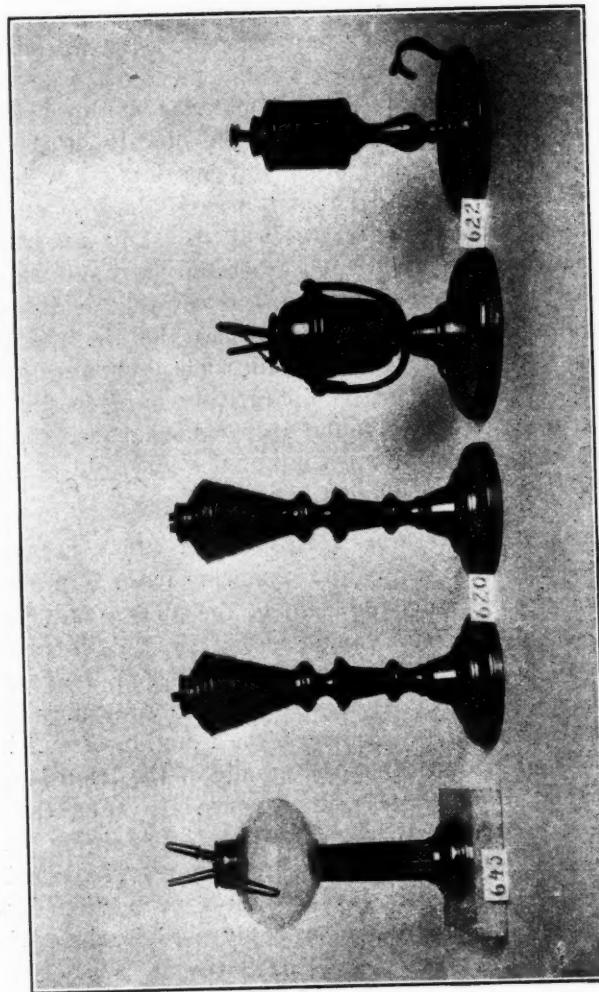


Fig. 6.—Brass camphene and whale-oil lamps.

sombre outlines of their iron and pewter lamps, even in the very metal of which they were made. Ornamentation played at best a very diminutive role in the life of the Puritans, and nowhere is this more apparent than in their lamps. Economic considerations doubtless played a part however, and when they, or their children, had established themselves more firmly in the new country they had more time to give to domestic embellishments. The brass, pewter and tin lamps of the Colonial and post-Revolutionary periods were more pleasing to the eye, and gave more light. Perhaps one reason for the lack of beauty of the earliest American lamps is to be found in the fact that one could hardly see them by the light of their own wicks, and accordingly the improved lighting devices of later periods made it necessary to improve the appearance of the lamps themselves.

FROM AN OLD DIARY

BY FRANCES AYRES

EAST LANSING

“YOUTH” is probably one of the most mauled and pen-handled subjects of the times. It is not an innovation of some movement of reform, neither is it a recently discovered topic previously hidden away from the essayist ever in search of the unique and the untried. Every age has witnessed the same old controversy discussing *pro* and *con* the relative values and the future destinies of the dandy, the fop, the coquette, the beau, the belle, the rogue, the prude, the vampire, the wallflower, the shiek, the flapper and the “good fellow”.

How refreshing it is to be reminiscent rather than prophetic. It seemed that way to me at least as I sat perusing the shabby, old diary which related experiences, naive and delightful, of a college boy of 70 years ago. The style was fascinating in its artlessness, just the happenings of each day in the monotonous school life of this lad set down in a most familiar, casual, undressed manner and meant for no eyes but his own.

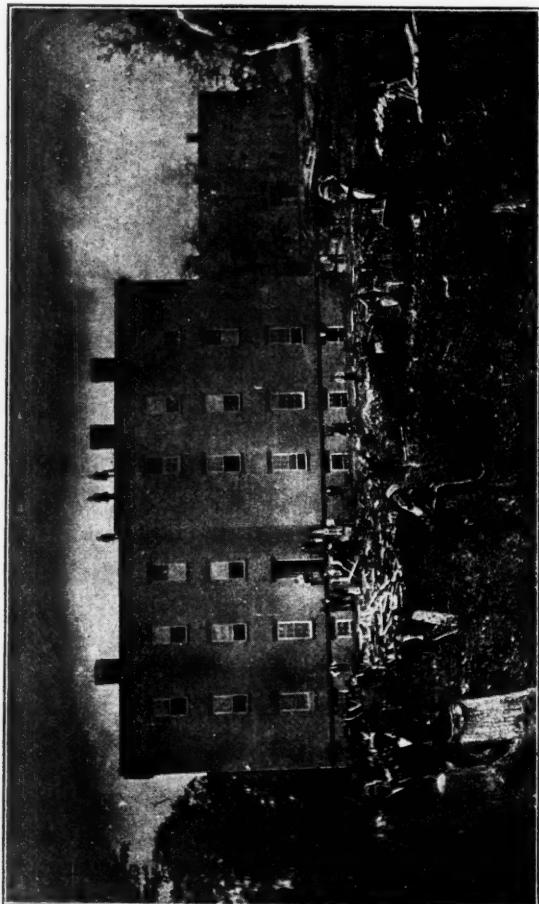
As I read, chuckled, wondered, marveled and read again, I grew more and more intrigued, and felt it a pity that so rare a story should be imprisoned upon the pages of a little volume within reach of only a few persons. It is with this thought still in mind that I here attempt to give (in far less interesting style than that of the diary, I must confess), the story that I found there.

Our hero, Edward, started for a college some 80 miles from his home in Detroit at 8 o'clock one frosty November morning in 1858. He had to travel by stage over an uneven plank road where, at all-too-frequent intervals, the planks had either spread far apart or had quite disappeared, giving the effect of passage over an enlarged wash-board. The trip, which now can be made easily in two hours took until 10:30 that chilly

evening; 14½ hours of constant driving finally brought him to the miniature two-building college which was at that time only in its experimental stage.

He arrived, quickly settled in the small room with three other boys and proceeded to become acclimated to the difficult conditions of the brave little institution. His school life consisted of arising at 4:30 a. m., religiously attending Chapel each morning (this was compulsory), studying after breakfast until school time, freezing in three classes during the forenoon, and alternately blistering his hands and chopping his toes in manual labor of the afternoon (for the latter, by the way, he received the exorbitant wage of 7c an hour), eating regularly the plain and much discussed food provided by the institution, hunting often the wild turkey, deer and bear that were to be seen in the wood close by, and studying again in the evening until "lights were blown out" at 10:30. He allowed such fooleries as popping corn, throwing the ash-pails down two flights of stairs, putting the Steward's buggy on top of the shed, and roasting pigs' tails, only to come on nights of faculty meeting. On Christmas eve he mentioned celebrating by playing "Snap-dragon" with raisins and 3c worth of whiskey.

Routine was broken a bit on Saturdays and I quote what he wrote regarding one:—"Getting worse every day, this morning laid abed till the bell rang. Got ready just in time for Chapel. Worked with Bush and Frederick in the College Building which was very convenient for me as it rained most all the morning. The rest of the morning I spent in studying and reading, till 12 o'clock when I commenced a letter to Mary which I finished and directed soon after dinner but which lies in my drawer now, I having forgotten to put it in the mail. After finishing my letter I played a game of chess with Foote, or rather tried to learn him what little I know of the game. Then Foote and I went out hunting, Foote taking an axe along in case we ran over a bear. We went up the river aways and saw a muskrat swimming down the river. Afterwards we saw some tracks of wild turkeys some of which were evidently



BOARDING HALL—"SAINTS' REST"

This building, erected in 1857, and College Hall were the only buildings on the campus at the opening of the college. Here space was limited and rooms were overcrowded. The tiny 15 by 15 bedrooms were occupied by four boys and often there were not enough chairs to go around which necessitated one or two of the boys spending the year on a trunk. This print was taken from an old daguerreotype.

those of a wounded turkey, as there was considerable blood on the snow. We tried to follow them but they stopped a little farther on, the turkey having flown. After a little farther we turned and struck off into the woods. Presently we came across the track of the wounded turkey again. We followed it a short distance to a brush pile where we found the turkey which had lain down to die. We cut off his head with the axe. We took him over to Mr. W——'s for a present to the President. The President invited us to come over and help eat him on Tuesday. After supper I studied my Geometry for a while and then went over to the College to hold a candle while Bush painted the black boards. Then came over and commenced chronicling the events of this eventful day. After Foote and Bush had gone to bed and I was just ready to follow them, Prof. F—— came into No. 2 and asked Foote if he found a turkey in the woods today. Foote told him that he did. Then Prof gave him a great blowing for hooking his turkey. It seems that Prof shot the turkey this morning in the corn-field and that he did not follow the bird across the river because *it was too near dinner time. Mighty Hunter.*"

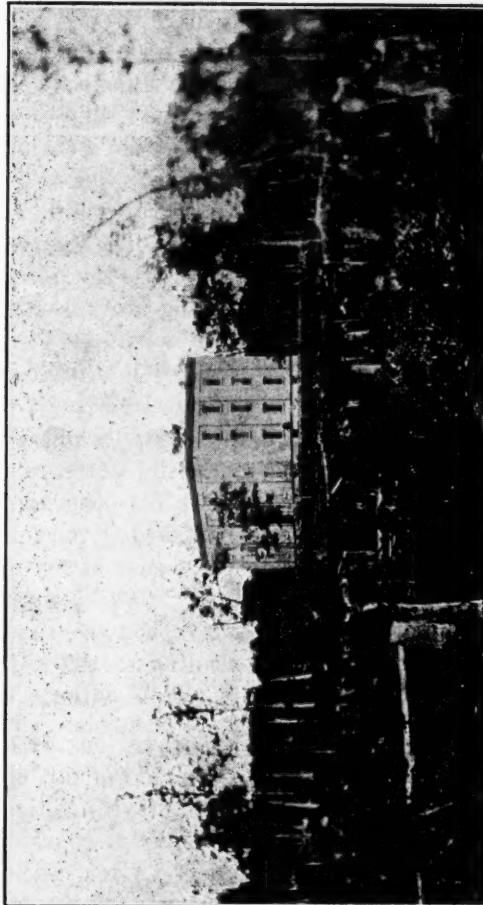
Edward's Sundays were spent in a particularly unusual fashion, unusual at least in our day of late arisals, Sunday comics, Church occasionally, dinners out (too voluminous often), auto trips and a theater-filled evening. Edward slipped out of bed into a freezing atmosphere very little if any later than his customary rising hour and attended prayers as per week days. All morning he read. Sunday comics? No indeed, but rather Spencer's *Faerie Queene* or *The History of Michigan* by Mrs. Sheldon, or *Vanity Fair* by Thackeray.

Even of greater value than his Sunday reading were the Sunday walks through the woods which he always took in company with another college lad. His mere mention of the weekly jaunts leaves much to the imagination—the talks that accompanied the walks, the pertinent questions of the day which were solved, the vital principles of life which were made more clear by observing nature—wonders *may* result from a walk in the wood.

The Church or "Meeting" as they called it, took place in the afternoon and was addressed by some one of the faculty with an occasional sermon by an outside preacher. Speaking of these services and of the type of messages which were delivered to the students by each faculty member in turn, he says, "Taking it all around, we get one *patent* sermon, one talk and one good, original sermon during three weeks". In speaking of the president of a sister institution who "did the honors" one Sunday, Edward's direct, simple method of criticism is shown. "This sermon was by far the best I ever heard preached in this institution. His style was clear and his illustrations very well chosen." Can you but wonder at the boy when you realize he was but 16 years old?

One afternoon the Superintendent of the State Board of Education "staged it" over to the college and spoke. That evening Edward wrote, "His text was like that of the hard-shelled Baptist minister—in the Bible somewhere, he didn't know where— He gave us a pretty good sermon although it was 45 minutes long." Another entry regarding the regular Sunday afternoon pastime read, "This afternoon a gentleman from —— preached for us. The first remarkable feature in his discourse was that he was 15 minutes behind time. Next he told us that we might sing as many verses of the one-hundred-and-nineteenth hymn as we pleased. He then proceeded to make a long apology for selecting so trite a subject as that on which he addressed us. During the meeting I leaned forward to get a hymn book and somehow my chair got out from under me, and we had a good time generally."

Lyceum was held every Friday night, when members of the student body met together and the time was filled with discussions and debates on subjects of timely interest. Edward mentions the subjects "Resolved—that Savages have a Right to the Soil", "Progress of Civilization", "Usefulness of Lyceums" and "Culture" as having special interest. The students were divided into two groups called the upper and lower "houses" and competition in the matter of entertainments as



COLLEGE HALL

College Hall was the first building erected on the campus. It is noted for being the first building wherein practical Agriculture was taught in the world. It was situated in the midst of a dense forest of virgin timber and the last remnants of the historic old structure are just this month being torn down.

well as in discussions was keen. These Friday evening meetings occupied the place of the present-day Union dances and provided practically the only diversion of the week.

Although I mentioned a word or two regarding Edward's literary program, I want you to marvel with me at the rapidity and discrimination with which he read. Books we consider heavy classics were devoured in short measure, like Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, or Dickens' *Pickwick Papers*. He mentions that *Oliver Twist* was read between Monday forenoon and Tuesday afternoon. I found his criticisms of literature similar to his criticisms of sermons, concise and pointed. Of *Martin Chuzzlewit* he remarks that "it is like Thackeray—the decent people are fools and those who know anything are knaves." Fiction was interspersed with non-fiction such as Plutarch's *Lives*, Abbot's *History of Hannibal*, *Life of Wellington* by an Old Soldier, and *Literary Reminiscences* by DeQuincy. Shakespeare's comedies were read again and again with great fervor, although Edward frankly admits that he did not care for the tragedies. The Bible also had its place in his program. Starting it on New Year's Eve in 1857, he finished it the following Christmas. How many of us today can boast of accomplishing this feat? Although our own *Elmer Gantry* may savor more of realism, or Lindberg's *We* may be more timely, we instinctively admire the schedule of reading that this 16-year-old chap carried on back in the tallow-candle fifties.

Speaking of candles, Edward received a precious little kerosene lamp for Christmas which was the pride of not only his heart but the various and sundry hearts stuffed into that over-crowded dormitory room. The problem was, of course, where to get the fuel to feed the sacred flame. After much delay kerosene was brought from the nearest town for the fabulous sum of \$1.65 a gallon. This was the beginning, and how interesting to trace in one's mind the rise, fall and consequent fast-approaching death of this ingenious device for supplementing the sun's rays.

The journal stops abruptly, just before examination time in

February 1859, and is not continued until January 1st, 1860—nearly a year later. Edward was taken ill with the all-too-prevalent Ague while preparing for examinations and had to go home. Although he spoke of school, he never returned for active membership in the woods-surrounded college, but rather worked in his uncle's store as bookkeeper, cashier, copyist, and what-not. For recreation he continued his reading with renewed ardor and attended often the increasingly popular Lyceum. He wrote after hearing George Vanderhoff, actor, read Shakespeare and other prose and poetry, "I did not like his reading of the 'Bridge of Sighs', he acted too much to suit my fancy, but I never heard anything to compare with his reading of Holmes 'One Hoss Shay'."

Like all genuine diaries, ours just stops without a reason or an eye to the technic of a literary work. It is a vivisection of a life uniquely usual in a period historically formative. It interests us because it relates curious customs in unfamiliar years. It should inspire us to salute the pioneers that broke the way that we might follow easily.

Account of Edward's expenses from Nov. 29, 1858, to Feb. 27, 1859:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------|
| Cash on hand Nov. 29th | \$10.01 |
| Fare to Lansing Nov. 29th | .25 |
| Suspenders and Slate Nov. 29th | .50 |
| Pencils and Cement Nov. 30th | .12 |
| Lyceum Fee Dec. 3rd | .25 |
| Memorandum Book Dec. 4 | .37 |
| Porters Chemistry Dec. 6 | 1.00 |
| Spaulding's Literature Dec. 6 | 1.00 |
| The Lansing Republican Dec. 12 | .07 |
| Magazines Dec. 17 | .15 |
| Whiskey, Christmas, Dec. 25 | .03 |
| Received \$1 cash, Christmas, Dec. 25 | |
| Expenses in Chemistry Jan. 5, 1859 | 1.00 |
| Envelope Jan. 8 | .01 |
| 1 oz. Gum Arabic Jan. 8 | .06 |
| Carrying the mail Jan. 13 | .15 |
| Repairing Boots Jan. 17 | .75 |
| Board Jan. 19 | 15.16 |
| Doctor's Bill Jan. 19 | 2.00 |
| 1 Box of McAllister Jan. 20 | .25 |
| Dinner Feb. 12 | .07 |
| Vanloo Feb. 13 | .15 |
| Fare to Detroit Feb. 25 | 2.75 |
| 1 Box of Pills Feb. 26 | .50 |

| April, 1858 | Hours | Kind of Labor |
|-----------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| Monday, 12th | 3 | Logging. |
| Tuesday, 13th | 3 | Ditching. |
| Wednesday, 14th | 3 | Filling up mud holes. |
| Thursday, 15th | 3 | Pulling and drawing roots. |
| Friday, 16th | 3 | Grubbing. |
| Saturday, 17th | 3 | Drawing roots. |
| Monday, 19th | 3 | Logging east of College. |
| Tuesday, 20th | 3 | Logging east of College. |
| Wednesday, 21st | 3 | Logging east of College. |
| Thursday, 22nd | 3 | Building fence north of College. |
| Friday, 23rd | 3 | Laying brick by the College. |
| Saturday, 24th | 3 | Piling cord wood south of barn. |
| Monday, 26th | 3 | Drawing potatoes. |
| Tuesday, 27th | 3 | Logging. |
| Wednesday, 28th | 3 | Burning brush. |
| Thursday, 29th | 3 | Spreading manure. |
| Friday, 30th | 3 | Making a terrace. |
| May, 1858 | | |
| Saturday, 1st | 3 | Logging. |
| Monday, 3rd | 3 | Gardening at the President's. |
| Tuesday, 4th | 3 | Gardening at Prof. Fisk's. |
| Wednesday, 5th | 3 | Planting potatoes. |
| Thursday, 6th | 3 | Gardening at the President's. |
| Friday, 7th | 3 | Weeding the wheat. |
| Saturday, 8th | 3 | Setting out trees. |
| Monday, 10th | 3 | Ringing bell. |
| Tuesday, 11th | 3 | Ringing bell. |

SOME INDIAN PLACE-NAMES AROUND SAGINAW

BY FRED DUSTIN

SAGINAW

IT IS unfortunate for our Peninsular State that Schoolcraft's plan of naming its counties was not followed out, and Indian names adopted instead of following the behest of ill advised persons in naming a number of our counties after Irish political divisions of the first half of the last century.

There is a freshness, an originality, and a pertinent meaning to all purely Indian names that is not to be found in our civilized nomenclature, and the silvery beauty and poetic significance of such a name as Minnehaha is in striking contrast to narrowly partisan names or such designations as Antrim, Wexford, or Roscommon, which have no historical meaning or local significance.

Saginaw County fortunately escaped a cheap designation, and while this is not an Indian word or name, yet it is derived from an Indian phrase, and thus is purely Indian in its origin.

It must be remembered that any translation of a complicated sentence from one language to another involves difficulties, and this is more especially true when the translator or interpreter is unlettered and has little knowledge of even his own tongue, and a very limited vocabulary to express himself.

As a consequence, the greatest part of our Indian names are corruptions, and in many cases have been spelled in so many different ways that in the range of extremes, there is little resemblance. The county, city and township and river that bear the name SAGINAW illustrate this vagueness, and we have Saukenong, Sagana, Saguina and seven or eight others as found in old writings, maps and official documents.

A recent writer in a New York paper, drawing liberally on his imagination, informed his readers that Saginaw meant "at the mouth." These fanciful definitions are sometimes given

credence, and an attempt to set the matter right is met by the argument, "Why, I saw it in a New York paper," the theory being that because it is in print, it must be true. The writer does not speak or read any Indian language, and cannot claim to be an authority, but in this paper has had the advantage of original information as to some of these names from the Indians themselves. Old maps, copies of Indian treaties, early histories and atlases have been consulted, and pioneers now passed on have contributed. Where definitions are omitted, I hope at some future time to give proper meanings.

Before the whites had taken possession of the Saginaw territory, the resident Indians, Chippewas, in designating the Saginaw region, called it "the place where the Sauks were," and from this phrase originated the name.

In 1910 the writer made the acquaintance of Daniel Wheaton, a full-blooded Chippewa Indian who was born and raised in Saginaw County. Mr. Wheaton as a youth had the benefit of two years in Albion Seminary, now Albion College, and had been licensed as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He was a man of unusual intelligence and character, and from him I secured much valuable information, accurate and to the point, and was able to obtain from him correct pronunciation of several names and words of especial interest in local history.

"Saug-e-an-te-nah-ke-wat," literally, "where the Sauks (Saug-e) were." It was very easy for the whites to shorten this to Saug-e-an-te-nah, and further abbreviate it to Saug-e-nah, and soon we have our present-day Saginaw.

But Saginaw covers over fifteen square miles of ground, and that portion of it lying contiguous to the business center of the East Side (old East Saginaw) was known as Te - waw-baw-ning, "the place of the hickories," while the portion of the city around the Court House, (old Saginaw City) was called "Kah-bay-shay-way-ning," meaning the gathering place. That portion of the city lying immediately north of the Tittabawassee and west of the Saginaw river at the forks is now called

Green Point, but the true Green Point lies south of the Tittabawassee, and is the tract of land between that stream and the Shiawassee River. Its Indian name was significant of the present name, and was "Shows-ko-kon," the "o-w" in the first syllable pronounced as in scow, accent on "kon." This was the site on both sides of the Tittabawassee of corn fields, and here they gathered for their corn feast, and here tradition has it that a battle was fought between the Chippewas and their allies, and the Sauks.

On a curious old Italian map bearing date of 1688, I find Saginaw spelled "SAKINAND," and the official military records of 1822 spell it "SAGUANA." These examples are sufficient to establish the persistence of the present name, modified as it is from the old Chippewa designation.

TITTABAWESEE

Tittabawassee River and Township take their names from an Indian phrase meaning according to the best authorities, "THE-RIVER-THAT-FOLLOWS-THE-SHORE." A glance at the map indicates the significance of this name, it will be noted that all the living tributaries enter it from the south and west. The ice age laid down a barrier north and east, and the succession of geological lakes which extended their waters far into the interior of the Lower Peninsula, determined the several river drainages. Judge Albert Miller in his valuable historical sketch in the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, 1884 Volume 7, gives a slightly different meaning to the name, "The river that heads north to the bay," but it is readily seen that this is easily interpreted to mean the same as above noted. Daniel Wheaton gives the first, and it appears in various writings.

SHIAWASSEE

Miller gives the meaning of Shiawassee as "Straight River," and another definition is "Beautiful River." As a literal designation, "Straight River" could hardly be applied to the Shiawassee, for in its windings it covers the points of the compass from the first degree to the last. But neither is cor-

rect, and it is rather strange that the simple significance of this name should have been so easily lost when the true name means "green" and has been perpetuated in Green Point. "Ozhaw-wash-kwaw" is green, from which we easily derive the English pronunciation, Shows-ko-kon or perhaps better, Ozhawwashkwa-kon, Green Point. The Indian designation, "Ozhaw-wash-kwaw se-be" very easily became "Shiawassee," properly, "Green River."

FLINT RIVER

This stream was called by the Indians "Pe-on-i-go-ing," or sometimes "Pe-on-i-go-wink," the translation of which is "the place where there are stones (flints)." At the Taymouth Fair Ground, just south of the Saginaw County line, a high gravel bank on the north side of the river was a source of supply to the Indians of suitable stones for the making of axes, chisels, adzes and other implements and weapons, and this locality was and still is known to the local Indians as "Peonigowink." It may be well to state here that "se-be" means river, and the real designation of the Flint River would be, "Pe-on-i-go-ing Se-be," and this applies to all rivers and some of the smaller streams in the county, although the diminutive, "wens" is added for a little stream, thus, "se-be-wens," (which is, by the way, the original of the present Sebewieng) "Little River." Also, the locative termination is usually "ing," thus translating Peoni-going "The place of stones."

CASS RIVER

On certain old maps, the Cass River appears under the French designation "Riviere de Hurons," and later it appears as "Huron River." It seems from legendary history that at one time a band of Huron Indians had crossed over from Canada, and temporarily located at the forks of the river near what is now Cass City. There were legends of lead mines near this point, and it is quite possible that the Hurons were seeking this material, for their sojourn is said to have been in historic times. However, the old Indian name seems to have been Not-a-way, the translation of which Miller gives as the

designation of a peculiar black water-snake which he states to be extinct, although I have myself seen a few of them at the Jerome Rift, a mile east of the Bridgeport-Frankenmuth line. They are a peculiarly lithe and active snake, and when among the rocks and stones at the Rift, are not easy to overtake, for they dart like arrows toward the water.

Later research may give better results in regard to this name, as I am satisfied that "Not-a-way" is only at best a portion of the original Indian designation, and misspelled "Na-dawa" means "I bring him in a canoe."

BAD RIVER

There was some confusion in regard to the name of this stream, for it seems to have been known to the Indians by two names. The two branches, now officially known as the north branch and south branch unite in the village of St. Charles to form the Bad River, but the south branch, along which ran the Great Trail from Saginaw Bay to Grand River and Lake Michigan, was called "Maw-tchi Se-be," literally, "Bad River." Judge Miller spells this "Much-a-see-bee," and Chapman's *History of Saginaw County* spells it "Matchi-sibi;" not so great a variation as some others. The north branch was called "Mis-a-bos" or White Rabbit River. Potato Creek flowing into the south branch was known as Wau-po Se-be, of which I am unable to find a translation. This name appears on Farmer's map of Michigan, 1837.

BEAR CREEK

Bear Creek, a small stream flowing into the Shiawassee in Section 14, St. Charles, was known as Ma-qua-na-ke-see, "Ma-qua," or more properly, Maw-kwa, means Bear, hence the name.

MISTEGUAY CREEK

On Farmer's Map this stream appears as "Michtegavock," and in Chapman's *History* is spelled nearly the same. It is thought that this is a corruption of "Me-zhe-say," wild turkey, together with some qualifying word.

BEAVER CREEK

We find no Indian name for this stream, but it was originally

called Beaver Dam Creek, from a large beaver dam not far from the present Michigan Central Railroad bridge. This creek runs into the Bad River just below the railroad bridge.

SWAN CREEK

This creek rises in Midland County, and after a course of twenty miles or thereabouts, paralleling the Tittabawassee River at a distance of from two to three miles for the greater part of that distance, enters the Shiawassee about six miles above its junction with the former river. Its Indian name as it appears on old maps, particularly Farmer's Map, was "Miche Se-be," meaning "Duck" River. The true Indian name was "She-sheb-se-be," the e's pronounced as in eat. The change to Swan Creek was perhaps through a misunderstanding of the translation.

CHEBOYGANING CREEK

This sluggish creek flows through the northeast corner of the county, and where the corners of Sections 1, 2, 35 and 36 meet there is a little settlement called Indiantown. In early days there was a considerable Indian village near along the creek. A story related of a chief who lived there was to the effect that he had a considerable family of daughters, but had much desired a son or two. Coming to Saginaw one day, he met a white friend who understood that a new arrival was expected, and after inquiring as to the chief's personal welfare wished to know as to the expected. "He come," said the chief, and manifesting considerable dissatisfaction exclaimed, "She boy 'gain." Hence the name. This story has been related with variations, applying to Cheboygan, Mich., and Sheboygan, Wis. Cheboyganing means "The Place of the Large Pipe."

We have already noted the township names of Saginaw and Tittabawassee. Swan Creek Township took its name from the stream bearing that designation, and I have somewhere seen a note to the effect that Brant Township and village were named after the Mohawk Chief, Joseph Brant, but cannot at present verify it.

CHESANING

Chesaning Township and Village took their names from the Indian, referring to a large limestone rock in the river just below the site of the present dam. This rock was blasted by the early settlers and burned for lime. The present "Chesaning Rock" lies eastward of the village center some three-quarters of a mile, and is of igneous origin, apparently a mass of the green rock so common in the Upper Peninsula. This was a very well-known spot in Indian days, and the name, "Chesaning" means "Big Rock Place."

CROW ISLAND

In the Cass treaty at Saginaw in 1819, we find "For the use of Kaw-kaw-is-kou:::::::six hundred and forty acres of land:::::::at:::::Menitegow, and to include:::::::the island opposite said place." The island is now called Crow Island and took its name from the above named chief, properly, "Kish-kaw-ko," "The Crow," "Ne-mit-e-qua" was the proper designation for a place on the west bank of Saginaw River opposite Crow Island. The reader will more than once in this paper note the confusion of spelling, but I have in many cases endeavored to give the phonetic rendering as received from the lips of Daniel Wheaton and his son, George Wheaton, both now deceased, and both well qualified to give correct renderings of names and their significance. Ne-mit-e-qua means substantially "Where the woods touch the river."

Of the places or objects now bearing Indian names there only remains to mention the following, which were at the instance of the writer officially named by The Park and Cemetery Commissioners of Saginaw in 1911.

Mound Hill is that portion of Rust Park Entrance south of Court Street and between Washington Avenue and Lake Linton. In this park space are four Indian mounds, named as follows: Saug-e-nah Mound, Harlan I. Smith Mound, Chippewa Mound and Ash-a-tah-ne Mound, the last being after the first part of Daniel Wheaton's Indian name; this was "Ash-tah-ne-quay-beh," meaning "Almost-touches-the-clouds,"

and was descriptive of some observation or happening when Mr. Wheaton received his name.

KISH-KAW-BAU-WE

In the Cass Treaty of 1819, in specifying the Reserve on the Flint, we find this phrase, "and a place called Kishkawbawee." This place was near the intersections of Sections 16, 17, 20 and 21, Taymouth Township, and means "A steep place," most likely referring to the steep river bank which is quite prominent near this point where the Indian trail came close to the stream.

This place commanded a ford in the near vicinity, and was undoubtedly specifically mentioned on that account.

REAUM'S VILLAGE

In the reserve above mentioned, we also find the words, "to include Reaum's Village." Reaum was a Frenchman of rather indifferent character, a squaw-man, in fact, and he had no "village," this being a mistaken identity and piece of carelessness on the part of Cass's secretaries, for it should have read "to include Ne-ome's Village." Neome (more properly Ne-b'-gome,) was a noted chief, and his village seems to have been in the extreme south part of the Reserve and just across the line in Genesee County, although it is probable that it was scattered along the river as far down as "the English Church" in Taymouth, and included the great corn fields so often noted by the early settlers. Baraga says that this name (corrupted to Neome) means "I wait for game in the night on the water in a canoe," probably a clumsy translation.

MEN-O-QUET'S VILLAGE

From the Cass Treaty we quote as follows: "One tract, of one thousand acres, at Menoequet's village." This was located in Sections 19, 20, 29 and 30, Frankenmuth Township, and was on the north side of the Cass River. The name Menoquet appears to be a corruption of ME-NE-KWEN or Min-i-kwen, and means "I drink it."

O-TUS-SON'S VILLAGE

The treaty further specifies: ::::::::::::: "eight thousand acres::::::: at the village of Otusson." Otusson's village was

where the village of Frankenmuth is now located, or perhaps a little west. This name is very probably a corruption of "O-taw-wa-wis-sin" or "O-taw-was-in," meaning "he or it is Ottawa." The variations of the Algonquian languages are such that none but those well versed in its grammar or a native himself can satisfactorily translate proper names even with a good dictionary, for a slight change in sound or suffix changes the meaning materially. Also it is to be remembered that Indian names, unlike our own, almost invariably represent an idea or a description often involving a whole sentence.

We also find in the Treaty, "One tract of six thousand acres, at the Black Bird's town :::::::" This reserve was along the west bank of the Tittabawassee River, a corner extending into Midland County, and another small corner lying in Thomas Township, but nearly all being in the north-west corner of Tittabawassee Township, Black Bird's Village lying along the river in the last named town. His Indian name, as commonly pronounced by the whites, was Mis-co-be-nense, shortened Misco, and more familiarly in his later years, he was known as "Old Mizko." As a matter of fact, he was not "Black Bird" at all, but "Red Bird." The best rendition of his name is "Mis-kwa Bin-es-si," literally, "Large Red Bird."

MANG-A-MOOS'S VILLAGE

In the center of Section 34, Spaulding Township, there is a locality on the Flint River formerly called Floodwood. Here was located Mang-a-moos's village. He does not figure extensively in early history, nor does his name appear in the Cass Treaty as a signer unless it was disguised under the wonderful spelling of the secretaries. However he seems to have been well-known among the Indians as a sub-chief. His name meant "Long-Eared Moose." There is no evidence now visible of this old-time village, but around on the fields in the close vicinity are plenty of pre-historic remains in the shape of stone implements, arrow-points, etc.

PONTO FLATS

About two miles south of Chesaning there is a beautiful

river flat called Ponto Flat, where a legendary battle was fought. This place is sometimes called "Ponto and Shako;" there is a queer legend connected with the locality which relates to an Indian named Shako and his father. I think that one family of Shacos still are in the Peonigowing community. I have not been able to learn the significance of these names. The Ponto Flat is well-known at and around Chesaning, and the beauty of the scenery at that point might well repay a visit to any lover of nature and her works, and to the archaeologist and student of folk-lore.

In preparing this paper, I have consulted Baraga's *Chippewa Dictionary*, Chief Pokagon's remarkable little book, and Andrew Blackbird's *History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians*. Bishop Baraga's dictionary was a very careful, accurate and painstaking work, but is somewhat lacking in the definition of words, running largely to the definition of phrases. Also his diacritical marks are confusing to one who takes Webster as his standard instead of the hair-splitting latter day dictionaries which often confuse instead of clarify. Chief Pokagon on the other hand, is crystal-clear, both in his definitions and in his phonetic spelling and pronunciation of Indian words. His chapter on the Algonquin Language is a masterpiece of concise information, and all through the book Indian words and phrases abound, followed in brackets by a translation. Blackbird's useful and very interesting little book gives over twenty pages to the grammar and vocabularies of the language and, like Pokagon's, is clear and concise. It is a pity that either one of these men, well-educated in English as they were, could not have given us a dictionary, as their complete familiarity with both languages would have been productive of unmatched work.

It is hardly necessary to give a bibliography for such a slight paper as this, but Farmer's map of 1837, several old maps of Saginaw and adjacent counties, several county histories, the *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, the *Hand Book of American Indians* and other incidental authorities in my own library

have been consulted. It is to be hoped that eventually all the Indian-place names of the State will be compiled in permanent form, thus preserving something of the romance, the unwritten history and the poetic significance so emphatically expressed by these aboriginal names.

CALENDAR OF MICHIGAN COPYRIGHTS

(For samples of full text see previous issues of the Magazine)

526. May 8, 1861. Alexander R. Tiffany. Book. "A Treatise on the Power and Duties of Justices of the Peace, in the State of Michigan, under Chapter Ninety-three of the Revised Statute. With Practical Forms. By Alexander R. Tiffany, Counsellor at Law. Fourth edition Revised and Corrected. Adrian, Mich. Published by W. & C. Humphry."

527. May 8, 1866. C. J. Whitney. Musical Composition. "Thinking of Thee. Ballad. Composed by Gras. Wood."

534. June 4, 1866. J. Stanley Grimes. Book. "Geonomy—A Theory of the Ocean Currents and their agency in the Formation of the Continents to which is added [Actrogenen?]. A new Theory of the Formation of Planetary Systems. By J. Stanley Grimes, Counselor at Law. Author of Phreno-Geology, A New System of Nervous Physiology, etc."

535. June 15, 1866. John J. Waggoner. Print. "Waggoner's French Enamel. Waggoner's French Enamel, for Producing a Brilliant Complexion. Warranted not to injure. Sold by all druggists. Price 50 cents per bottle. Prepared only by John J. Waggoner, French Perfumer, Chicago."

538. July 3, 1866. Gilbert E. Corbin. Book. "Greatest Discovery of the Age. Human Teeth can be rendered as durable as Fingers and Toes! A Plain and Complete explanation of the Process. By Gilbert E. Corbin, M. D."

539. July 3, 1866. Ira Mayhew. Book. "Albion Commercial College—Albion, Michigan. Rules for Journalizing the Opening and Closing Entries of Consignments, Shipments, Merchandise Co.'s, Shipment Co.'s and Adventure Co.'s, and for Treating them Generally. Prepared for use in the Theory and Actual Business Departments of the Institution."

544. July 18, 1866. Rothschild & Bro. Engraving. "Free and Easy, Manufactured by Rothschild & Bro., 231 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich."

545. July 18, 1866. George Barclay & Aaron Corey. Engraving "Detroit Favorite. Manufactured From the Finest Selections of Tobacco. By Barclay & Corey, 161 Woodward Ave."

546. July 20, 1866. Sam Kaichen. Engraving. "Firemen's Hall. Manufactured from the Finest Selections of Tobacco. By Sam Kaichen, No. 232 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit."

547. July 24, 1866. Wm. Robertson. Work. "Instructions for Coloring and Restoring Buggy Tops. By Wm. Robertson, Practical Chemist and Fancy Dyer, Kalamazoo, Michigan."

566. Sept. 13, 1866. D. H. Cruttenden. Book. "The Philosophy of Language. Elucidated by rules based on the principles of mental Philosophy. Designed to present the Science and Art of communicating knowledge clearly and correctly in writing and speaking. Part Second. By D. H. Cruttenden, A. M. Author of the Series of Systematic Arithmetics, etc."

567. Sept. 20, 1866. Fred'k H. Herbert. Map. "Map of the City of East Saginaw, Michigan."

622. Oct. 31, 1866. Mrs. C. S. Ladd. Design. "Improved Design for Cutting Ladies' and Misses' Dresses, Sacques, and Basques."

623. Nov. 2, 1866. William Robertson. Work. "Instructions for cleaning and coloring all kinds of Garments. By William Robertson, Practical Chemist and Fancy Dyer, Kalamazoo, Mich."

640. Nov. 5, 1866. Jas. S. Drake. Musical Composition. "Starlight Waltz for the Guitar. By Justin Holland."

641. Nov. 9, 1866. J. Russell Webb. Book. "Analytical Series. Analytical Second Reader. By Richard Edwards, L. L. D., President of the Illinois Normal University and J. Russell Webb, Author of the Normal Readers and Word Method, Chicago. Geo. & C. W. Sherwood, New York; Mason Brothers, Boston; Mason & Hamlin."

644. Nov. 14, 1866. L. B. Fisher. Work. "Fisher's Sawyer's Assistant."

645. Nov. 17, 1866. J. Russell Webb. Book. "Analytical Series. Analytical Third Reader. By Richard Edwards, L. L. D., President of the Illinois State Normal University and J. Russell Webb, Author of the Normal Readers and Word Method, Chicago. Geo. & C. H. Sherwood. New York: Mason Brothers, Boston: Mason & Hamlin."

646. Nov. 21, 1866. Anson H. Platt. Book. "Familiar Conversations on Health, Life and Longevity, between a Physician and Patient, in which the following subjects, and several times as many more, of a kindred nature, are closely and carefully discussed by questions and answers: Existence a blessing; Our viability limited; No right to curtail it; Health and longevity optional; A sin to be sick; We cause our own sufferings; Signs of longevity; Instance of longevity; Hereditary influences; Doctors; Medicine; Health of females; Five great causes of diseases; Food, sort, quantity, quality, cold, warm, pork, beef, mutton, fowls, butter, eggs, cheeses, grains, vegetables, fruits, nuts; Exercise, excess and deficiency of; Pastry; Appetite; Cookery, utensils, benefits, injuries, baking, boiling, frying, stewing, steaming, roasting; Dishes, few, many, simple, compound; Drinks, water, milk, tea, coffee, cocoa; Malt liquors, adulterated, poisonous, stuftyfying, paralyzing, morbid; Water, spring, well, river, lake, pond, distilled; Digestion, perfect, defective; Eating, frequently, regularly, nibbling; Beds, feather, straw,

hair, husks; cotton, spring, hard, soft; Bed Coverings, much, little, light, heavy; cotton, woolen; Bedsteads, wood, iron, high, low; Sleep, much, little, regular, irregular, day, night, after meals; Rising, early, late, regular, irregular; Air, cold, warm, pure, impure, indoors and out; Rooms, size, temperature, warming stoves, fire-places, furnaces, Steam; Ventilation; Carpets, filthy, dusty, poisonous, morbific; Exercise, laboring, riding, walking, gymnastics, dancing, boat-rowing, agriculture; Baths, warm, tepid, cold, vapor; Personal cleanliness; Common colds, cause, prevention, cure; Health of females, destruction of; Special senses, use, abuse, preservation; Teeth, structure, use, abuse, repairing, extracting preservation; Hair, structure, use, abuse, blanching, decidence, preservation; Shaving, unnatural, injurious, useless; Vaccination, discovery, use, security, genuine, spurious; Physical maturity, precocity, baby women, boy men; Marriage, late, early, when proper; Lightning, explanation, directions, security; Wearing apparel, importance, adaption, use, abuse, materials, seasonable, curses of fashion; Boots and shoes, light, heavy, coarse, fine, tight, loose, high and low heels, natural shoes; Corsets, cravats, garters; Tobacco, its history, cost and curses, &c, &c. By A. H. Platt, M. D., Author of *Photograph Family Record, Origin and Perpetuity of Organic Matter, Animal and Vegetable. Five Thousand Facts for Health and Longevity, and The Physical, Mental, Moral, Religious and Financial Effects of Tea, Coffee and Tobacco Upon Man.*"

647. Nov. 27, 1866. Cornelius O'Leary. Engraving. "Erin Go Bragh. Engraving. William R. Roberts, President Fenian Brotherhood."

656. Dec. 15, 1866. Dr. E. A. Lodge. Book. "A Few Remedies. Therapeutic effects. Therapeutical Application. Homeopathic Practice. By [?]. Second edition—Revised and Enlarged."

657. Dec. 15, 1866. Jas. S. Drake. Musical Composition. "Gipsy queen. Grand Polka For the Piano. By Theo. Moelling."

710. Jan. 2, 1867. J. Henry Whittemore. Musical Composition. "Save Our Flag. Words by Mrs. Sara Wolverton. Music by J. A. Getze."

711. Jan. 2, 1867. John Thomas. Book. "Anasties, [?] or The Fall of the Roman Pontificate, The Resurrection of the Dead, and The Judgment of the World. By John Thomas, M. D. Author of *Elpis* [?] Israel, *Eureka*, an Exposition of the Apocalypse; and other Works."

714. Jan. 1867. Dr. A. W. Chase. Book. "[German edition of Dr. Chase's Receipt Book]."

715. Dec. 27, 1866. [Sic]. C. J. Whitney. Musical Composition. "The Spring Breeze. A Mazourka By Jas. E. Stewart."

732. Jan. 8, 1867. Wm. H. Paine. Book. "The Michigan Teacher; Organ of the State Teachers Association, and of the Department of

Public Instruction. The True Education is Practicable only to the True Philosopher. William H. Paine, Ypsilanti, Resident Editor. C. L. Whitney, Dowagiac, and John Goodicos, Ypsilanti, Associate Editors. Ypsilanti, Mich. Published Monthly, by Payne, Whitney and Goodicos."

733. Jan. 9, 1867. J. L. Hirschman. Label. "Superiors. Manufactured from the Finest Selections of Havana Leaf. J. L. Hirschman, 275 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan."

738. Jan. 16, 1867. Joseph Benjamin. Engraving. "Engraving. The Fenian Martyr. Rev. John McMahan, Catholic Priest. Now confined in Toronto C. P. Jail sentenced to be hung. Published by Joseph Benjamin, Detroit, Mich."

739. Jan. 19, 1867. C. J. Whitney. Musical Composition. "Sparkling Gem Waltz. By C. H. Roberts."

760. Mar. 29, 1867. John H. Tatem. Book. "The Monitor of The Eastern Star. Containing the Ritual of Adoptive Masonry, embraced in the Eastern Star Degree. Consisting of the initiation, Degree work, ceremony for opening and closing a lodge, installation service, etc. Together with Forms and Rules for the government of Lodges. Compiled and Arranged by John H. Tatem, Adrian, Mich."

761. Mar. 30, 1867. William A. Throop. Book. "Bank Tickler."

776. Apr. 27, 1867. John W. Hile. Book. "A Manual of the Law of Fixtures [?]. By John W. Hile, L. L. B., Councillor at Law."

777. Apr. 30, 1867. David Kells. Book. "The Ways of the World. Being a History of the Life of David Kells—The Hero of Seven Battles—Written by Himself."

780. May 8, 1867. William M. Thomas. Book. "Theory Department of Thomas' Great National Business College, City of Flint, Mich. The Day Book. Comprising six sets, Accompanied with Business Forms, Rules and Definitions for the Guidance and Instruction of the Student. Prepared and carefully arranged by William M. Thomas, Professor of the Science of Accounts. Flint, Mich. F. H. Rankin, Printer, 1867.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Editor Michigan History Magazine:

IN REFERENCE to comments subjoined to a list of books in "The Fiction Field of Michigan," July number, I beg to submit a letter received by me in December 1914, as follows:

EVERYBODY'S MAGAZINE

New York, December 19, 1914.

Dear Mr. Swift:

I have read the story, "Blood Royal," in the December *People's*, and I am frank to say that I think you were mild in your comment on it. Certainly in my wildest flights I never intended to recommend that you or anyone else should attempt to do that sort of thing. It is a great pity that valuable material centering around your north country should be sufficiently impaired in this fashion to make its further sale by someone else more difficult. Are you willing to let me see again the manuscript I have already looked over twice? I should like to have a chance to make a comparison between that and the stuff that runs in the *People's*. Have you undertaken to do anything at all to admonish Jones?

Yours very sincerely,

TRUMBELL WHITE, (Editor).

P. S. It will interest you to know that I am not going to be with *EVERYBODY'S MAGAZINE* after today. If you want to reach me in a personal way, my house address is _____ New York City.

Upon this letter no comment should be necessary, but to protect any writer who might be hurt by the blanket charge in the article in your July number, I wish to state that I submitted the MS of my story "Mark Hayden—Poet Vagrant," (son of the King) to the publisher of "Blood Royal," and have a letter from him claiming "innocent purchase" and cautioning me about careless loaning of my manuscripts.

I wish to state also that I was the author of the "poem" on Strang's death, called "Assassination of the King," a ballad built on the story told me by Alex. Gilbault, one of the French fishermen who took part in the expulsion of the Mormons from the Beavers. I am not responsible for the facts or variations, as intelligent readers will concede, but I admit some credence of the reports of disinterested persons present.

IVAN SWIFT,
Harbor Springs.

EDWARD W. BARBER, veteran Michigan newspaper man and one of the best known figures in the public life of a generation ago died June 28 at his home in Lakewales, Florida. Had he lived a few days longer, until July 3, he would have been 100 years old. He was all his life interested in historical work and contributed many articles to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*. In honor of the approach of Mr. Barber's 99th birthday, Mr. Charles W. Garfield wrote for the *Michigan Tradesman* last year a tribute from which we quote. Mr. Garfield says:

I have been his correspondent for nearly sixty years and he has added very materially to the satisfactions of my life through his wise counsel and well matured pronouncements upon the problems of conservation, civics and social welfare in which I have had an abiding interest.

Mr. Barber was born in Benson, Vermont, in 1828, and when he was eleven years old his father's family removed to Michigan with a colony from Vermont, which found an abiding place in Eaton county and named the town then founded Vermontville. His school education consisted of a few winters in the country school and a year in an academy. Then he started in to earn his own living with an ideal of usefulness in his vision. Leaving work on the farm he went over in 1847 to Marshall and became printer's devil in the office of the *Marshall Expounder*, which at that time was a leading Democratic paper in Michigan. He served his apprenticeship of three years, which was the custom in those days, and, desiring to see something of the world and reach toward a career, he went to Detroit and connected himself with the *Detroit Daily Democrat*, which was at that time the leading newspaper in the Northwest. From there he drifted to Kalamazoo and for two years was attached to the *Gazette* and the *Telegraph* of that city. He developed a love for the political game and was an ardent student of politics. One of the things he practiced as a young man was reading aloud, either to other people or by himself. He had a good voice and he was chosen in 1857 as assistant clerk of the Michigan House of Representatives.

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His chief was Charles V. Deland, of Jackson, and the record he made as reading clerk led to his selection later on, in 1861, to the clerkship of Michigan House of Representatives, following which his peculiar ability was recognized in a National way and he became reading clerk in the House of Representatives during the 38th, 39th and 40th Congresses. He had the thrills which accompanied the calling of the roll for important decisions and often spoke of the tenseness when he called the roll for the final passage of the constitutional amendment for the abolition of slavery and also for the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. He had a retentive memory and I have oftentimes heard him repeat verbatim portions of great speeches which were made in Congress during that war period. My impression is that he is the only living man who sat in congressional halls during that period.

In 1860 he was named superintendent of Internal Revenue for the States of Michigan and Wisconsin. It was in those early years that he became somewhat interested in Florida and, I think, through an accident became the possessor of a considerable area of land in Polk county of that State. It was while looking after this domain, which at that time had a very questionable value, 1873, that he was notified from Washington that he had been appointed Assistant Postmaster General. He served in this capacity until 1877 when he retired from active politics and never afterward was connected in any official capacity with governmental affairs.

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He retired to the city of Jackson, making his home there, and became part owner and editor of the Jackson Patriot, where he could be found at his desk usually every working day until the purchase of the Patriot by the Booth Publishing Co., May 26, 1918.

After going to Florida for his permanent home, he contributed in an editorial way to the Jackson News, and I think his name was carried at the head of the editorial page as editor. In the early 80's he became greatly interested in the problems of rehabilitating our State after the removal by lumbermen

of tremendous areas of timber and by allowing them to go back into the hands of the State, they became a menace rather than an asset. Mr. Barber entered into the discussion of conservation with an ardent spirit and with a wide and accurate knowledge of history of reforestation in foreign countries, and he drew upon his garnered information of the results of forest removal upon agriculture, climate and character of mankind.

He was always deeply interested in the problems developing in growing cities and in his "Meditations and Gleanings," which he carried every Sunday morning for many years in the Jackson Patriot, he dealt with the wide range of problems connected with political and civic life and public welfare. His pronouncements were original, incisive and constructive and he made a wide reputation in his own state and in the Nation as a great editorial writer upon current topics of interest and value.

At one time, speaking of his birthday, he said: "All I remember about it is that I was in a great hurry to arrive in time to help celebrate the glorious Fourth." He absorbed information upon a wide range of subjects and through his retentive memory had a tremendous fund of information to draw upon in bringing home to his clientele his pronounced views upon all subjects connected with progress in life and government. One of his friends said of him at one time: "His mind is one inexhaustible reservoir of information and wisdom from which he draws every minute in conversation, delighting those who are fortunate enough to be listening, and making his presence a delight and entertainment to his friends."

Mr. Daniel Strange, of whom some things were written in the Tradesman last week, in speaking of the pioneers of Eaton county in a volume he issued last year, said of Mr. Barber: "The proudest product of Eaton county is the Honorable Edward W. Barber, reared in Vermontville from his eleventh year to early manhood, when he became clerk of our State

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Legislature, then of the United States Congress for a term of years and later Assistant Postmaster General during the Grant administrations, and still later, editor of the Jackson Patriot, where his editorials for their pungency, erudition and perspicacity became famed in many states."

I am inclined, in closing this brief contribution, to make quotations from personal letters which I have received in recent years since Mr. Barber became a permanent resident of Florida.

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From a letter dated April 14, 1920: "You know so much about Florida that it is like carrying coal to Newcastle to write you about it. Yesterday afternoon we had a glorious rain of about two inches, and today it is warm and invigorating. I improve every opportunity to take an outing in an auto and rode up to Lake Wales, five and one-half miles this afternoon, and met a bunch of people who are as well satisfied and contented to abide here as one will find anywhere. It was not a maddening crowd. It seems strange though that this is so new a region. Ten years ago last winter, in all this highland lake district, there was but one settler between Frostproof, ten and one-half miles South of here, and Haines City, over twenty miles North on the railroad from Jacksonville to Tampa, and there were not more than two orange groves along the entire distance of over thirty miles. If I had not seen it in its primitive condition, roadless through the forest, where now is an asphalt highway with only short stretches of forest, I could not realize the changes which have taken place in so short a time, and more land has been cleared and groves planted since the kaiser's war ended than had been cleared and planted before that time.

"Ponce de Leon, over 400 years ago, only twenty years after Columbus, sailed over the ocean blue and found and named Florida, but discovered not the fountain of eternal youth of which he was in quest, but landed at or near St. Augustine. He made other voyages and died on his last one and was buried on the island of Porto Rico. He found in Florida a coun-

try where nature never has a season for sleep. It is always flowery, fragrant and attractive. It is a fairy land of green and gold. The sky is blue and seldom hidden from view by the exhalations of earth in the winter. Sail wherever he might over the Seven Seas, never could Ponce de Leon have found a pleasanter region than this. There are but few reminders of winter, no snow, a spring which comes in February, when orange blossoms fill the air with fragrance, and later the golden globes hang on the always dark green trees, and winter is the time of greatest horticultural activity."

From a letter dated June 22, 1920: "The sun at noon is almost directly overhead, for the slant of its rays are only about 250 miles in the 93,000,000 miles of the space traversed by them to reach the earth, so that here one can realize the importance of the shadow he casts upon this whirling sphere. Things are not what they seem to be. At noon our heads point toward the sun; at midnight they point away from it; and yet we appear to be on top at the noon of night as well as at the noon of day, although our heads point downward at the former and upward at the latter. So, I reckon, everything here is an appearance, not a reality, for the real cannot be changeable and must be eternal, not temporal. Physically we are shadows, and physically it is shadows that we pursue, and yet shadows which are essential to physical existence."

From a letter dated March 3, 1921: "Always I have had a good opinion of Professor Roth and was right glad of the opportunity to read one of his breezy letters. I had a few from him in former days, but with a trunk full of others consigned them to a fiery furnace before leaving Jackson. What seemed the most puzzling of questions was the one he asked: 'Must we always be bossed by mediocrity and selfishness, the world over?'

"'Always' is an unlimited time. 'Always' and forever, here on earth, opens up a long look ahead. Can anyone imagine a time when he will not be governed by polities and politicians, using those words in the party sense? Of course, I can see a

beginning made in the commission form of government by cities. In them there is less opportunity for the gratification of partisan selfishness, and this is a great gain. It will be a greater gain when the same principle is applied to counties and will supersede the expensive supervisor system, for three men, one of whom will spend all the time at the county seat, can do the business of the county much better than it is now done."

From a letter dated October 2, 1921: "It appears that about the close of the third century of the New Era, the command to heal the sick became obsolete and inoperative, probably owing to the plunging of the new religion which brought life and immortality to light into the darkness of materialism, represented by the Dark Ages period, and but small progress has as yet been made towards real recovery, although great progress in material things has been made.

"Of course, there has been much progress made in forms of government, but in practical politics there is an abounding selfishness. Therein we see the blind leading the blind into a ditch from which extraction cannot fail to be a serious matter. Here, however, in this sunland, I am so far removed from the turmoil and wranglings and janglings of politics—of wars that are past and preparations for wars and murders yet to be—that I can dismiss them with the remark, 'What fools these mortals be.'

"I have yet to learn that the emphatic four words, 'Thou shalt not kill', are not confined to killing men singly and with malice aforethought, but apply even more emphatically to killing them with modern deadly instruments on the field of battle. For such slaughter the command should read, 'Thou shalt kill' and the more the better, and the greater the earthly glory.

"In spite of all the wholesale killing, there is progress. I am gladdened to see the interest farmer organizations are taking in the affairs of government, instead of the welfare of this or that political party, although they are fooled into believing

that taxation and protection are synonyms. Still they are having a much wiser leadership at present than they have had in the past. It needed holding their noses to the grindstone of low prices for their products at the time of the existence of a high emergency tariff, evolved for their special benefit, and to protect them from countries where people are underfed and starving from lack of food.

"The blinded politicians who did this seemed not to know that a high tax on commodities could not increase the ability of Christians, who happen to live in other lands, especially after the devastations of a great war, to buy and pay for our products, and that years must pass before the normal conditions of peace can come. Perhaps the politicians know better than they act and are trying to fool the people while they victimize them. The tariff humbuggery is disguised under the plausible name of 'protection', which is, after all, just plundering one class of citizens for the pretended benefit of another class.

"Here we are, the greatest creditor nation on earth, holding ourselves aloof from other nations, and trying to impose a heavy tax or duty on the products of labor and capital, whereby those who owe us must pay us, if we are ever paid the billions of dollars of indebtedness that accrued as one burdensome result of the war."

From a letter dated July 4, 1921: "Tempus fugit. Here it is Independence Day, July 4, 1921, and on looking at the first ink jabs of your last letter the date is June 13. Actually as dead as the day I was born, July 3, 1828, ninety-three years ago yesterday.

"It was in the town of Benson, Vermont, that I first saw daylight. My mother's maiden name was Rebecca Griswold, the only daughter of Alvin and Anna Griswold. She was born October 5, 1798, and passed away December 22, 1838. It was a bitter cold day that her abandoned body was buried in the cemetery at Benson, by the side of her fifth son, Rodney W. Barber, born September 13, 1838, and died December 10,

the same year. The next year we left Vermont, father, step-mother and four boys, I being the oldest, for Vermontville, Michigan, that State having been my home from the first day of October, 1839, the date of arrival in Detroit, until I came to Florida in November, 1919."

These brief extracts from letters, often reaching 2,000 words, indicate clear thinking, balanced judgment and beauty of diction indicative of an alert mind and an unusual gift of expression. His penmanship at 94 was as perfect as print without a tremor or an error. His life has been filled with valuable services to his fellows. As an object lesson of clean living, great activity, wonderful vitality and sanity in judgment, I know of no more striking an example. If he can round out the century in comfort and happiness, we may indulge the hope that a kind providence will fulfill the desire of his devotees.

Dear Editor:

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IN RESPONSE to your request I am glad to furnish the Magazine with the leading facts in the life of the late Hon. Washington Gardner, in whose death on March 31, 1928, the State of Michigan has suffered an irreparable loss. His career as minister, educator, statesman and soldier was notable and unique, and he held a warm place in the affections of thousands of people.

Washington Gardner was born on a farm near South Woodbury, Ohio, Feb. 16, 1845. He was the sixth and youngest son of John Lewis and Sarah Goodin Gardner. He had three sisters. His mother died when he was four years old, and soon afterwards he went to live in Westfield, Ohio, in the home of his uncle, Washington Gardner, for whom he had been named. In 1859 he began to work for Robert Kearney, for six dollars a month and board. Mr. Kearney had a library, in which the lad became deeply interested, perhaps laying there the foundation of his later love of literature. He attended the village school and later entered Mount Hesper Academy.

On Saturday evening, Oct. 26, 1861, he attended a patriotic meeting, held in the Methodist Episcopal church. Volunteers were called for, and he was the first of a group of Westfield boys to volunteer. He became a member of Co. D, in the Sixty-fifth Ohio Infantry. He was one of the three youngest in a detachment of 1,200 men, and was the youngest in his own company. He participated in engagements at Corinth, Mission Ridge, Chattanooga, Chickamauga, Stone River, and elsewhere. At Resaca he was severely wounded, and for a long time he was in the hospital. This wound made him a sufferer for life.

After he was honorably discharged from the service in 1864, he entered Beach Grove Academy, Ashley, Ohio, for he had an insatiable thirst for an education. He studied also in Baldwin University, Berea, Ohio, and in the fall of 1866 he entered the freshman class in Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich. After three years in Hillsdale, he entered Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for his senior year. He received the degree of B. A. in June, 1870. In 1908 Ohio Wesleyan University bestowed upon him the honorary degree of LL. D.

In 1871 he married Miss Anna Lee Powers of Abington, Mass., who lovingly and earnestly co-operated with him in his work. To this union were born seven children, Grace Bartlett, Mary Theodosia, Carleton Frederick, Elton Goldthwaite, Raymond Huntington, Lucy Reed, and Helen Louise, five of whom survived him. Grace Bartlett died in infancy, and Elton Goldthwaite died July 1, 1923. Mrs. Mary Theodosia Parker passed away in May, 1928.

In 1871 he entered Boston University School of Theology. In his second year his health broke down, largely as a result of his hard work in earning the funds necessary for his course. In 1875 he entered the Albany Law School. He graduated there as the valedictorian of his class. He then practised law in Grand Rapids, Mich., for several years.

He joined the Michigan Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1882, and was appointed to the pastorate of the

First Methodist Church in Kalamazoo, where he served for two years. He was pastor of the First Methodist church in Jackson for three years. During his pastorate in Albion the cornerstone of a new church building was laid. He served St. Paul's in Cincinnati, Ohio, one year. In 1889 he became a professor in Albion College and later was the very successful field agent of the college. It was due to his influence that Senator James McMillan of Detroit presented Albion College with a new chemical laboratory.

In 1894 he was appointed secretary of state. He was twice elected to this position. In 1899 he was elected a congressman from the Third Congressional District, on the Republican ticket. He was re-elected five times. His service in Congress was brilliant. He was for 10 years a member of the Committee on Appropriations. He was chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in the Department of Commerce and Labor. In the course of his work on this committee he visited Panama, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Jamaica. His distinguished service in Congress was recognized, when he retired, by a largely attended banquet, at which a number of addresses were made, expressing in the highest degree appreciation of his remarkable record in genuine public service.

He was very popular with the members of the Grand Army of the Republic. In 1888 he was elected commander of the Grand Army of the Republic of Michigan, and in 1893-4 he was national commander. In 1921 he was appointed commissioner of pensions, by President Warren G. Harding. He retired in 1925, after making another most honorable record.

In his later years he suffered much from ill health. The love and admiration of his home community were evidenced by the naming of the new high school building in his honor.

He was a man of marked loyalties. He was always loyal to the community in which he lived. He was loyal to his country, and to his religious convictions. He had a rare genius for friendship. He loved people, and they responded with affection and admiration.

He was an author. He compiled a very able and readable history of Calhoun County, Michigan, in two volumes, but his busy life precluded extensive devotion to the writing of books.

He was at home upon the platform. While in Washington he often spoke at receptions to foreign ambassadors, at conferences, at social functions, at conventions. In Michigan and elsewhere for many years he was in constant demand as a lecturer. One of his best known lectures was "The Battle Above the Clouds," a thrilling, patriotic description of the battle of Lookout Mountain, of which he had first-hand knowledge.

He was brilliant, lovable, an inspiring comrade, a true friend, magnetic, well-informed, urbane and sympathetic.

The funeral services were held in the Methodist Church in Albion. Addresses were given by ex-President Mauck of Hillsdale College, and Dr. F. S. Goodrich of Albion College. The American Legion had charge of the service at the grave. During the time of the services the schools, factories, and stores of Albion were closed, and the church was filled with friends paying silent tribute to one of Michigan's leading citizens.

FREDERICK S. GOODRICH,
Albion, Mich.

"**A**LBION IN HISTORY" is the caption of a dozen pages of interesting chronology in Otto E. Luedders' new Albion city directory.

TTEN years ago this Fall armed hostilities of the World War came to an end by the Armistice signed on November 11, 1918. Michigan looks back with pride to her part in the events of that great struggle, especially to the service of the Michigan National guardsmen at a time when the fate of the allied armies seemed hanging in the balance. Their fine record on five fronts and in three major offensives has gone down into history an imperishable tribute.

The story of "Michigan in the World War," covering the Army and Navy, Camp Custer, Selfridge Field, war camp community service, overseas service, the "home front", welfare work, food volunteers, manufacturing and shipbuilding and transportation, financing the war, and educational activity, is told by the editor of this Magazine in the concluding chapter of the revised edition of Cox's *Michigan History* (Mich. Education Co., Lansing).

THE American Legion has endorsed *The Uncensored Official Records of the Great Events of the World War*.

These records are said to give the real inside story in the very words of the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish officials, as well as those of France, Belgium, Great Britain, Russia, Italy and the United States.

This work was compiled by fifteen hundred International Specialists under the direction of Charles F. Horne, Ph. D., United States Government Expert on History with the A. E. F.

Further information about the work may be had from Mr. W. F. Riley, care of the American Legion Headquarters, Barlum Bldg., Detroit.

A NEW magazine of history is announced, *The Journal of Modern History*, sponsored by the University of Chicago, Dr. B. E. Schmitt, well-known historian, will be the managing editor. The *Journal* contemplates publishing:

1. Articles of the kind usually found in historical reviews.
2. Documents, particularly those not easily accessible, e. g., from local or private archives.
3. "Historical revisions", i. e., short articles showing how traditional views have been overturned by modern research.
4. Reviews. In addition to the ordinary type of review, it is proposed to publish longer reviews, comparable to the

French *comptes rendus*, of important books, such as Ritter von Srbik's exhaustive *Metternich*, in which the reviewer can explain fully the contribution of the author and comment adequately upon it.

5. Bibliographical surveys of the recent literature of a particular problem, of the kind familiar to readers of the *Revue Historique* or the *Revue des Questions Historiques*.

6. Bibliographical notes and historical information of all kinds.

Anyone interested may address Dr. Schmitt at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

To the Officers and Members of Michigan County Medical Societies:

THE undersigned, Dr. Winchester, who is undertaking the preparation of a chapter on "Medical Societies of the Lower Peninsula" and Dr. Burr, Chairman of the Committee of the State Medical Society, earnestly desire comprehensive histories of County Societies, (organization, etc.) for publication in the forthcoming Medical History of Michigan.

In connection therewith, and inasmuch as "society" is merely a designation for its component units, it is urgently requested that the names and characteristics of deserving doctors in the present and past membership of County Societies be given prominence.

Experiences of the old time physician, anecdotes of practice and community relationships, his contributions to medical and other publications, discoveries or inventions, his habits of thinking, acting and emotional response, his successes or unsuccessful strivings, his personality, peculiarities, aptitudes, pastimes, and the impressions derived from contact with him —any or all of these will be deeply appreciated.

The names and activities of useful members of the profession of other days should be preserved in history. This is little enough reward for a life-time of self-denial and self-sacrifice. Anything concerning them cannot fail to be of value and

while yet there are still living, patients, neighbors and confreres who knew of their works and ways, the recollections of these should be faithfully recorded.

No anecdote however trifling should be withheld and piquant outgivings for which the old-timers were noted will lend to any history a "human document" flavor much to be desired. Furthermore these may bring to light individuals entirely unknown to the Committee concerning whom further inquiry may be profitably made.

For the information of Dr. Biddle, who has charge of the section on "Military Service of Michigan Physicians" there should be especial mention of army service, whether in the ranks before entering upon practice or in the Medical Corps subsequent to graduation.

The Committee urges that help be furnished from every quarter. Will you do them the great favor to make the contents of this communication known to those who may be interested and sympathetic in its purpose? Please talk about it to others and read it at an early meeting of your County Society. Responses from the Upper Peninsula Counties may be made to Dr. T. A. Felch of Ishpeming, or to Dr. W. K. West of Painesdale, those from the Lower Peninsula to Dr. W. H. Winchester, Genesee Bank Bldg., Flint, Mich.

Thanking you in advance, we are,

Faithfully yours,

For the Committee

W. H. WINCHESTER,

C. B. BURR, Chairman

Flint, Michigan.

To readers of the Michigan History Magazine:

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK celebrations are the thought of the hour.

The Northwest Territory Commission, through its fiscal agent has worked out a plan with a St. Louis-New York concern to raise a fund of \$5,000,000 or over.

In Michigan undoubtedly there are many places that would like to put on celebrations, but are hampered for finances.

Our fiscal company will be in such position that by a very small amount of junior financing, averaging generally \$1,000, raised by the Chamber of Commerce or business men, we can enable them to put on a celebration that would ordinarily cost \$100,000 or more. This plan has sound business approval.

If you know of any communities that would be interested in such celebrations, if you will get them in contact with us, we will be glad to lay our plan before them for their approval.

Civically yours,

I. ORVAL SMITH,
Director of Public Relations.
Chamber of Commerce
East St. Louis, Illinois

Northwest Territory Exposition, Cahokia, Ill., beginning July 4, 1929. George Rogers Clark Conquest—The Richest Acquisition for America.

THE Marquette County Historical Society has issued a complete catalogue of its Collections, comprising books, pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, newspapers, and periodicals, making a Bulletin of 45 pages. There yet remains a large miscellaneous body of materials to list, including those in the Museum.

The scope of the collection is obvious at a glance, reaching out much farther than Marquette County. As stated in the preface, "It was recognized at the outset that business, social and other relationships throughout the Lake Superior region are, and have been, so closely inter-related, even for local purposes, it would be inadequate to confine our material to this county alone."

The gathering of material has been going on since the founding of the Society in 1917, partly through donations from many sources, but also partly by purchase from dealers. Most of the receipts from all sources have been used to increase the Collections, from annual dues of \$1 a year, life memberships

of \$50, but the principal revenue has been from appropriations made annually by the Board of Supervisors of Marquette County, amounting to \$200 a year, made in accordance with a state law encouraging such grants.

The Collections are housed on the second floor of the Peter White Public Library, Marquette, open to the public.

The present catalogue has been prepared by Miss Olive Pendill, for the past ten years Curator of the Society.

The Society announces that it has duplicate copies of several of the titles listed in the catalogue and is prepared to dispose of them by exchange or sale. A copy of the catalogue may be obtained from the Secretary.

The president of this organization is Dr. T. A. Felch of Ishpeming, a son of Governor Alpheus Felch; the secretary is Prof. Lew Allen Chase, head of the History Department at the Northern State Teacher's College; treasurer, Mr. T. M. Redmond, Marquette.

History

THREE Oaks Historical Society and the Edward K. Warren Foundation at Three Oaks, Michigan, have issued a neat little Guide to the Chamberlain Memorial Museum, according to which we learn the following data about the history of this institution:

In the fall of 1915 Mr. and Mrs. E. K. Warren, after extended visits to historical museums all over the United States, decided that the community of which Three Oaks was the center could supply the material for an equally interesting pioneer and historical museum, and that it should have such an institution.

In January, 1916, work was actively begun in assembling exhibits, and the home built by Henry Chamberlain in 1887 was turned over for the museum building. On March 16, 1916 the museum was formally opened, having at that time 3,500 exhibits shown in six rooms on two floors of the building.

The Museum continued to grow, and to occupy more and more space, finally filling the building's three floors and utilizing the building in the rear as an annex.

Mr. Warren soon recognized the need for a means of taking the property out of his hands directly and in 1917, after many consultations with lawyers and others, he and Mrs. Warren secured the introduction of a bill in the Michigan Legislature

permitting the organization of Foundations. The bill passed, and was signed by the Governor, and the Edward K. Warren Foundation was organized November 27, 1917.

The first trustees were E. K. Warren, Mrs. E. K. Warren, C. K. Warren, Frederic E. Chamberlain, Fred Edinger, Frank Donner, and Rev. O. C. Helming.

Mr. and Mrs. Warren proceeded to deed the Chamberlain home and four lots to the Foundation; also 300 acres of primitive forest in Chickaming Township three miles north and one half mile west of Three Oaks and known as Warren Woods and the Warren Dunes, 289 acres of the finest dunelands, with one and one quarter miles of frontage on Lake Michigan, in Lake Township, ten miles north of Three Oaks.

Since Mr. Warren's death Mr. Frederic W. Chamberlain has served as president of the Board of Trustees. The properties under control of the Foundation have been increased by the gift in 1919 from Mrs. E. K. Warren of six lots and the old school-building thereon in Three Oaks; and in 1922 Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Chamberlain gave a bathing beach and parking area at Tower Hill. In 1926 the present Tower Hill Beach House was purchased.

The Foundation is organized on a non-profit basis. Under the act of incorporation, it is given the power to buy and sell, to charge admissions, etc., but all such money must be used by the Foundation for the purposes for which it was organized, "the benefit of all the people", particularly of the Galien Woods region.

The Foundation is operating at a cost of between \$7,000 and \$8,000 a year toward which the taxpayer contributes not one cent. It functions as an educational institution, visitors to the Museum last year (1927) numbering 8,800; to the Dunes, 15,000, to the Warren Woods 5,000, and to the Bathing Beach and Parking area 45,000, or nearly 75,000 in all.

Late in 1927 the Foundation was offered the office building erected by Mr. Warren on the site where as a young man he began his business career, and the last months of 1927 and early months of 1928 were devoted to preparing the building and moving from the old museum buildings into the new structure.

This new museum was formally opened to the public on Pioneer's Day, May 17, 1928. Almost 70,000 articles are on exhibition, on the four floors devoted to the Museum.

The Warren Woods is an outdoor museum showing a tract

of forest such as the pioneers saw when they entered this section of the State. It is a climax forest, of beech and maple, many trees standing eighty feet to the first limb.

The Warren Dunes is a natural preserve of the finest of the sand dune areas. From the lake to where the sand hills meet the plains is one mile. The intervening area is filled with hill and dale, range, valley and peak, all the creation of myriads of tiny sand grains.

The great Warren Dune is the largest moving dune known, 3,800 feet in length, with a width of half a mile—more across the widest point of the fingers; its fronts are advancing into the valleys at the rate of eight feet a year over a perpendicular surface of 150 feet. The dunes are known as "America's Fourth Wonder".

AN exceedingly important pioneer step has been taken by the City of Dearborn in the formation of an Historical Commission as an official part of the city government. Dearborn appears to be the only Michigan city that has established such a commission. The action is a fine tribute to the public spirit and vision of leading citizens who have fostered the project. The *Dearborn News* of July 24 records this event as follows:

Dearborn, U. S. A., known the world over, is at last to come into its own. Acting upon a resolution drafted by Commissioner Ralph D. Ernest, a historical commission was appointed by the City Fathers Wednesday night, composed of Miss Isabelle Chaffin, Miss Helen M. Farland, Mr. Henry Haigh, Mr. William J. Cameron and Commissioner Ernest.

Named in honor of General Henry Dearborn, who, with a small company, rushed to the defense of his country at Bunker Hill and was one of General Washington's allies during the Revolutionary War, later was senior Major General during the war of 1812 and during President Thomas Jefferson's administration was Secretary of War for eight years, this famous city has been better known throughout the world than at home.

In naming the commission the personnel are residents of Dearborn who have given much time and consideration to the collecting, tabulating and conserving all material that has had to do with this city since its founding. Mr. Haigh has prepared numerous articles along this

line, many of which have been published. A few years ago Mr. Cameron, then editor of the Dearborn Independent, published a series of articles on the history of Dearborn which he had written after much research.

Miss Farland is the daughter of Mrs. Sophia Farland, the oldest living resident of Dearborn, and from her mother and own experience has gathered many items that will be of value to the commission in its work. Miss Chaffin, Librarian of the Dearborn Public Library, has personally supervised the work of tabulating all articles that have been published concerning the history of this city. And while Mr. Ernest is comparatively new to Dearborn, yet in the eight years he has resided here he has shown a deep interest in everything pertaining to the history of Dearborn and the preserving of same for future generations.

So with this personnel and with the support of the City Commission, the Historical Commission begins its work and deliberations under the most encouraging circumstances.

Two prominent state men who have been interested in the history of Dearborn and the organizing of a commission here are Dr. George N. Fuller, secretary of the State Historical Commission, and Emil Lorch, dean of the Architectural Department, University of Michigan, and these men have agreed to co-operate wherever possible with the local commission after it has been formally organized.

The resolution creating this Historical Commission follows:

"Whereas, The City of Dearborn and vicinity has played an important part in the history of Southeastern Michigan from the times of the earlier white men in the Northwest Territory down to the present time, and

"Whereas, The City of Dearborn believes that an authentic and official record of the history of this area would be a continual source of patriotic inspiration and pride to its Citizens, and

"Whereas, The older citizens, whose personal experience, knowledge of contemporary events, and family history would form an invaluable part of such a record, are in many cases reaching advanced age, and our great obligation to them would be made a matter of public record, and

"Whereas, The City of Dearborn believes that the responsibility and expense of creating such a historical record should be borne by the City.

"Therefore Be It Resolved:

"First: That the City of Dearborn create a historical Commission of five members, appointed by the Mayor and serving at his will. Two members of the Commission shall be one member of the City Commission, and the Public Librarian.

"Second: Said Commission shall be charged with collecting, compiling, and indexing all historical records and data, originals or copies of photographs, paintings, maps, and reliques, which shall be deemed of sufficient importance by them.

"Third: The City of Dearborn shall provide a suitable depository for the records of said Commission, so that they may be available at all times for inspection by interested Citizens.

"Fourth: The City of Dearborn shall include in its annual budget an amount which in its judgment will adequately provide for the expenses of this Commission."

ON July 15 Grand Rapids, or part of it, went back to the days when Indians, wild game and woods were more abundant than the pioneers themselves, as some 250 old settlers gathered in John Ball Park to talk over the "good old times." Handshaking and happy memories were the order of the day. It was the annual summer meeting of the Old Residents' Association. Capt. C. E. Belknap, for 15 years president of the Association who came to Grand Rapids in 1854 when there were as many Indians as whites in the village, was on hand to greet all the old timers, and was assisted by D. J. MacNaughton, second vice-president; Mrs. Martha E. Campbell, third vice-president, and Charles W. Garfield, treasurer.

Among interesting tales of old times told was one by C. G. Taylor. Contrasting the farm implements of yesterday with the perfected machinery of today, Mr. Taylor who has lived in Kent County since 1857 amused the folks by his story of the old time threshing machine, the first one used in his neighborhood. It was invented by William Buell who lived in Ada township and loaned his thresher to all his friends.

The thresher consisted of a box about the size of a radio cabinet, a horizontal board full of spikes and a cylinder also full of spikes. The motor power consisted of four men attached to a long iron handle which formed the windlass. The feeder used to shove through four or five straws at a time, for that was as much as the machine could stand without stopping. The straw, chaff and grain all came from the machine together. Rakes took the straw away and the chaff and grain had to be separated later by a fanning mill.

Mrs. Campbell, the third vice-president, was born in a cabin out West Leonard Road, half way between Grand Rapids and Lamont in 1851. She takes an active interest in the affairs of the world today. "We're going somewhere," she said, "but where? I don't know but that we are going to the end of our present civilization, but in that event I'm sure a better one will take its place.

"The young people?" asked Mrs. Campbell, "Why, they aren't any worse than the young people of my day, but there are more of them today."

Charles Garfield reviewed some of the old days in his brief talk. Mr. Garfield came to Grand Rapids in 1858 when he was 10 years old and has lived here ever since. For many years he gave his entire life to horticulture and his interest in civic affairs is widely known. His present home, "Burton Farm Home," is on the site of the first farm developed outside of the trading post in Grand Rapids.

SOPHIE de Marsac Chapter, D. A. R., Grand Rapids, on July 12, unveiled with a brief ceremony a bronze tablet placed on the historic old millstones in front of Kent Scientific Museum. The tablet was unveiled by Mrs. Carey S. Welsh, and accepted for the city by Mr. John Smolenski, chairman of the Board of Art and Museum Commission. Invocation by Rev. Ward K. Klopp, a brief talk by Miss Lucy Ball, and a brief history of the stones by Mr. Henry L. Ward, director of the Museum, were features of the program. Mr. Ward found that the stones were first used in Indian Mill creek, near where it entered Grand River in the north part of the city on the west side in 1834. The mill which was a very small industry, was a great boon to the pioneers in this section, who found it adequate to their needs in grinding grain. John Ball years later found the stones lying on the stream's bank, and brought them to his home on East Fulton Street where they were used as horse blocks. Seeing the historical significance in the old stone relics the family of Mr. Ball gave the stones to the Museum in 1904.

THE summer meeting and picnic of the Lenawee County Historical Society was held at the historic old inn at Springville, July 27, the principal address being given by Attorney Henry Bourns of Adrian. Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Hewitt, owners of the Inn, assisted in making the guests welcome and comfortable. Miss Anna White of Cambridge whose grandparents were pioneers gave a very interesting paper on the early settlers of the region. Mrs. E. S. Tate of Clinton, president of the Society, conducted the business meeting. A most enjoyable occasion.

JONESVILLE, Hillsdale County, was 100 years old June 28, 1928, and celebrated the event with appropriate exercises, a parade, and the unveiling of a boulder to mark the place of the first house in the village.

Benaiah Jones and his wife Lois were of Revolutionary stock, and came from Connecticut. Members of the Ann Gridley Chapter, D. A. R. from Hillsdale placed a "real daughters" tablet on the grave of Lois Jones in the cemetery at Jonesville.

Assisting in the ceremonies of the day were little Barbara Jane Ward and Mary Alice Powers, both great-great-granddaughters of Benaiah and Lois Jones. Mrs. R. M. Powers, a great-granddaughter was "Miss Jonesville" for the occasion. Mrs. Powers' mother, Mrs. Alice Dingfelder, granddaughter of the founders still lives in the village.

The main address of the day was delivered by Mr. Victor Hawkins, and a history of the settlement of Jonesville was read by Mrs. Vivian Lyon Moore of Hillsdale, a very thorough piece of research, published in full in the *Hillsdale Daily News* for June 26.

For data about the event we are indebted also to Mrs. E. B. Gregory of Jonesville, who took active part in preparations for this notable celebration and homecoming.

ONE of the few survivors of the fur trading days in the Lake Superior region is W. A. Cox, long a resident of Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Cox ran a store at Old Munising, then at Wetmore. Some years ago he retired from business after an eventful and at times an adventurous career. Mr. Robert H. Wright of Munising prevailed upon him to give an account of some of his early experiences, and he sends us the following:

ON THE FUR TRAIL SIXTY YEARS AGO

The winter days were short and the nights were long. The snow lay deep on the ground. We tramped along on snow shoes with a pack on our back while our train dogs followed behind. Usually about midwinter at 3 p. m. we would call a halt to make camp for the night, dig a hole in the snow, which was sometimes three or four feet deep. After cutting wood for the night we would gather the balsam boughs for a bed and make the mush for the dogs and then turn our attention to a tired man who relished his fat mess pork, washed down with strong hot tea. The dogs were fed every night on corn meal and tallow. We would then roll up in our blankets for a two hours' nap. The fire would burn down by that time and the cold would wake us up. We would trim up the fire, get out the old pipe and have a smoke and turn in for another nap. That was an average day and night on the trail.

The monotony of the night would often be broken by the screeching of the owls attracted by the fire, and often a pack of wolves in pursuit of deer would enliven the night with their harmony. On cold nights the trees would snap and crack like pistol shots, then there was that mysterious something in the wild woods you feel and hear that cannot be described. I have often asked old frontiersmen what it was and they would shake their heads, they could not explain it.

The next night I might be in a smoky wigwam trading with the Indians for furs. After the trading we would gather around the fire, the Indians all wrapped in their blankets with their tobacco pipes going full blast. I enjoyed these nights

listening to the wonderful feats of the demi-gods, Mudgekewis and Nanabozho. These traditions and legends were handed down from one generation to another. Some of the legends were a bit off color. An old Indian would start in a low tone to tell a story of one of the demi-gods. As he warmed up certain points would bring grunts from the bucks and giggles from the squaws. When he was through the story would be discussed pro and con. Many points would bring roars of laughter from the band. An old Nitchie, who must have been ninety years of age, said something to his squaw that roused her ire, for she picked up a stick of wood and struck him across the shoulders a blow that doubled the old fellow up. It brought down the house at the old buck's expense.

At Whitefish river where it empties into Little Bay de Noc I had a man by the name of Roberts trading with the Indians for me. A band of Indians from Beaver Island came over to trap on Smith and Rapid rivers that winter. They were doing well, when Old Silverband, a chief and medicine man from Big Bay, came over and told the trappers he would put a spell on their traps unless they paid him so many pelts. I happened along at the time and attended the pow-wow. He had sunk four posts about two feet in the ground. They stood about five feet high and about the same distance apart. He had blankets wrapped around the posts and built a fire inside where he started his medicine song, ringing a little bell and now and then putting a little tobacco and whisky on the fire. By some hokus-pokus the stakes would shake as though they would leap out of the ground. When he got to going full blast, I called Roberts, his brother and four Indians and asked them if they would back me up in taking the spell off the traps. They said they would do the limit. I went into the bush and cut a good stout stick, tore the blankets off the pen and went for Silverband hammer and tongs. He was soon on the run. I pulled my gun and fired a few shots in the air and that was the last of the medicine man in that neck of the woods. That night we had a feast, and the band had a good catch of furs that winter.

On one trip I was storm bound at the Indian village of Manistique Lake for days. Was stopping with Chief Solimin-ikee. The supplies were short and the chief's squaw was giving him a calling down because there was nothing to eat. He took down a long tom gun, went out, and in a short time returned dragging a lean hog, saying to her "eat that." The hog had been fed on fish. Waugh, it was high rank.

From Manistique the trail led down the Michigan shore to Millicokia. There were three traders there, Joe Mattlow and John and Louis Metty. They had a fine bunch of furs. I sorted Mattlow's lot and we agreed on the price, and took out my wallet to pay him. It was Christmas eve and he would do no business. I gave him \$100 to bind the bargain. I then went over and called on the Metty brothers, with the same story and the same result, and gave them \$75 on account. John said they had a black fox skin, but was going to take it to Mackinac in the spring and expected to get a big price for it. He went into the next room and brought out a pelt and asked what I thought of it. I told him a black cat skin that size was worth about fifteen cents and the fisher's tail was worth twenty-five cents. I told him where I came from there had not been a run of suckers for a number of years. John handed me a jug and tin cup. I got away from there on January the second. The days were spent in feasting and the nights in dancing.

I made one trip across the straits of Mackinac on the ice with the mail carrier. When about a mile from the shore a blinding snow storm came up. The dogs took us to the shore all right, for they seemed to know where they were going. On the trip back to St. Ignace we had no trouble, but I had all the straits I wanted.

At Millicokia on one of our trips, Mattow, the trader, said the Shosh-cog-i-naw, the chief of the tribe at White Fish Lake had a lot of furs but would not sell them to him. I learned from the chief later that they had "skinned" him. He advised me to go up and see him. I told him I would give him and the Metty

brothers 10 per cent on all the furs I got there. I had made it a rule not to buy furs from the trappers if the traders would sell me theirs. I went up to the lake the next day and met the chief and found a very interesting man. We were not long in making a deal and furs kept coming in for several days. A trapper generally keeps back a few choice pelts from his trader, what we would call "velvet." The night of the third day I was sitting in the chief's wigwam chatting with some Indians, when the blanket at the opening of the wigwam was pulled aside and a drunken Indian came in with a butcher knife in his hand and came stepping toward me. I picked up the three legged stool I was sitting on and laid him cold. The Indians in the wigwam jumped on him and tied his hands and legs and dragged him out. He had been down to the shore and sold his furs and laid in a stock of fire water and was on the war path. He came in the next morning and apologized. The chief ordered him out of the village. He was a Bear Island Indian, being over for the trapping season.

In the three seasons I traveled from St. Ignace to Superior City that was the only time I had trouble with the trader or trapper, except that little affair with the medicine man from Big Bay at White Fish River.

I had been down Michigan shore and on my return to Bay de Noc I learned there had been a fur buyer there from Fondulac, Wisconsin. He apparently knew nothing about furs. He had bought a shedder bear skin that was not worth two dollars. Paid five dollars for it and raised all around. He had left there the day before. I hurried over to Little Bay de Noc and Charley McAllister, who had charge of the store at Gena had bought twelve martin skins for a cape for his wife. He had kept them over summer and the moths had done the rest. I gave him twenty-five cents for the lot to make it a deal. With my packer, Douglas Thompson, we hit the trail for Ford River, twelve miles away. When near Ford River Doug did the furs up in his pack and I went on to the village. George Legar, a friend of mine had a store and small mill

there. I told George my scheme. Patten from Fondulac was there. Later in the evening Doug came stumping in. I shook hands with him and asked what luck he had. He said pretty fair. Patten was eager to buy furs at once and so was I. Legar suggested that we auction them off. George, by the dim light of a lamp got on the counter and Doug handed him the bunch of martin pelts. Patten wanted to examine them. No. I made a bid of \$12 and Patten bid \$15, I then bid \$20 and Patten raised it to \$22. I winked to Legar. Sold. George got the money and handed it to Doug. who left for one of the shacks. Was Patten mad? Well there are tricks in all trades but ours. I split a ten dollar bill between George and Douglas. It took some time to regulate prices after Patten left.

We had a tough time of it in the spring break up. The bottom would drop out of the snow every step you took. Snow shoes would settle down about three inches and load. Some days I could make only eight or ten miles and the streams were bank full and it was often necessary to unload the train and pack it over the water, then the train load followed. The dogs would sit on the bank whining, they knew they were in for a cold swim. I did not mind it much as it was all in a day's work. When navigation opened I would take the first boat up the lake, stopping at Ontonagon, Bayfield and Superior City. A man by the name of Smidt had his trading post inside the old stockades at Superior City. The Indians were all blanket Indians around there. There were seventeen bear skins among one lot of skins I bought from him. At Bayfield, Sam Vaughn had a trading post. There was a big village of Indians, located on Bad River. Gen. Webb, U. S. Army, was Indian agent stationed at Bayfield. Vaughn would not sell me his furs. Next morning I got a guide and started for Bad River and got out about two miles on the trail when I was hailed by an Indian and he handed me a note from Vaughn asking me to come back saying he believed we could make a deal. We did and I got a big bunch of furs. There were over a thousand rat skins in the lot of furs. After

I made the purchase he called me aside and showed me forty brown martin skins that he was saving for General Webb for a present for his wife. They were the finest lot of martin skins I had ever seen. The General had a nail keg upon the boat. We all had a good time opening it.

DEAR EDITOR:

I HAVE been able through the kindness of Mrs. John Smallwood of Lansing to secure some very interesting narratives concerning our State's history, and in this research I find that the name Wolverine when applied to us was intended to be opprobrious. Of all detestable animals which the early trappers, traders and Indians had to contend with, there was only one that could be classed lower than the Wolverine and that was the Badger. It was commonly reported that the Badger would open graves and rob the dead. As to the Wolverine being a native of Michigan, it is somewhat doubtful, having very seldom been seen in the lower peninsula at all, and not being plentiful in the upper peninsula, more commonly ranging north from the Lake regions of Michigan through central Canada, extending north to the Barren Lands and westward into Alaska.

The Wolverine was said sometimes to be so bad as to be credited with being possessed of a devil. Cases have been reported where they would follow a trapper's line, spring his traps, steal the bait continually and without being caught, enter his cabin, carry away gridles, dishes, traps, tools, etc., till the trapper in despair would pull up stakes and leave for other parts of the country miles distant to rid himself of the tormenting intruder.

The writer has visited the pair of Wolverines at Potter Park, Lansing, on various occasions, and aside from being seemingly tireless, restless animals, one would little suspect such obnoxious conduct out of them. In fact these appear quite winsome.

But how the animal's name chanced to be bestowed upon Michigan, leads us back to the days before Michigan became a State, when it was part of the combined territories of Michigan, Wisconsin and Indiana, and our federal government controlled the Indians of the Territory through the office of Indian Agent.

Mrs. Smallwood's grandfather, the Rev. William M. Ferry, was the first Indian Agent appointed in these parts. Rev. Ferry with his family came to Grand Haven from Mackinac in 1835. He set up an Indian Mission near Little Traverse City later on in the 50's. He was well liked by the Indians, and it was to him that they went with their troubles, disputes over land rights and trapping restrictions mostly. Trapping was the main industry of the pioneer days outside of clearing the land. White men were doing their best to obtain the upper hand, to gain control of this valuable business, and were making plans to take possession of this as their very own to the exclusion of others, especially the Indians who were clever and successful. On the other hand the Indians felt the same way about this great land as did their forefathers before them. They considered they were the rightful owners, being born here. This country was their native land. But conditions kept growing worse. The Indians roaming from Wisconsin into the upper peninsula of Michigan kept encountering more and more whites, who insisted upon encroaching upon Indian "rights." The Indians wanted the hunting and trapping grounds all to themselves. The whites according to the Indians, robbed their traps, sprang them, stole their furs, hid their traps, in short did almost anything they could to irritate them. In their aroused ire they went to the Indian Agent, Rev. Ferry, for aid. They put their case before him, in disgust with such unfair treatment, and in searching their small vocabulary they could seemingly find only one word mean enough,—they dubbed the whites "Wolverines," the most detestable animal they could think of.

When Michigan was to be admitted to the Union, the Indian

Agent sent for two surveyors, Ben Pratt and Dexter Brewer of Pontiac, to survey the boundary line between Wisconsin and the upper peninsula of Michigan. Here these two surveyors encountered the Indians of Wisconsin, who on learning they came from Michigan speedily hailed them as Wolverines. Not understanding what they meant by this, the surveyors inquired and found that the reflection was not only upon them but upon their whole State. Ben Pratt, who was something of a wit, thought a moment and then replied, "Well, there is just one animal worse than the Wolverine, and that's the Badger, which robs graves and eats the dead." From that time Wisconsin people were to belong according to Indian terms to the tribe of Badgers and Michigan people to the tribe of Wolverines. Tradition has brought this to pass.

ELLIS HARRY BAKER,
Lansing.

THE law of the jungle is to hunt and be hunted. To the swift and the strong is the victory. In the savage strife for life or the means of living there is no place for the weak, no quarter for the vanquished. The rule of tooth and claw is cruel, relentless, final. Only the fittest survive. That is the way of nature.

In human relations the grim law of the jungle is modified somewhat. Reason has shown the advantage of mutual concession, and the consequences of defeat are not often fatal. But complete abrogation of the primitive code has never been possible. Whenever two races of different culture representing separate stages of civilization come into conflict, the stronger is certain to triumph. The sharper the conflict, the more decisive will be the result. For the defeated peoples there is only sorrow, resentment, rebellion—and the end is always surrender. Either they must acquire the culture of the dominant race or decline to the status of vassalage. It was ever thus: when the Children of Israel went into bondage;

when Rome ruled the world; when the Goths swept over Europe. The conquest of the American Indian was inevitable from the beginning.

Between the white race and the red the differences were irreconcilable. To the Indian the white man appeared in the role of despoiler; while the white man regarded the Indian as an irksome impediment to progress. Neither comprehended the ways of the other. There was little in common between them. The Indian cared nothing for commerce or empire, for schools or churches, for cultivating the soil or clearing the forests. And the white man was no less blind to the deep spiritual nature of the Indian, his healthful habits, sense of justice, and carefree existence.

Perhaps the lack of understanding was partly because each saw the worst of the other on the frontier. The white men whom the Indian met either robbed him or tried to convert him to their way of living—and those who robbed him first gave him whisky. Travellers and settlers, being indifferent or hostile, noticed only the sullen, barbarous, and dirty savage, debased by the vices and diseases of the white men. In their natural environment the Indians were happy, generous, and moral people. Some of their customs were repulsive, their tools were crude, and their religion was immature, but they possessed virtues that the white men lacked. In racial development they were children: their ideas and conduct were childish.

Now the period of conflict is over. The desperate struggle for three centuries to stem the tide of a dominating civilization, to withstand the ravages of alien diseases, and to repel the attacks of resourceful grafters has ended. "In the great drama enacted in the American wilderness these bronze stoics have played every role,—hero and villain, hunter and hunted, victor and vanquished; yesterday defiant, imperious, battling victoriously with naked hands against storm and wind and snow and cyclone, against man and beast and hunger and

pestilence"; today servile and broken-spirited, feebly endeavoring to make the best of their fate, a beaten remnant passing into the twilight of their race.—*J. E. B. in "The Palimpsest," (State Historical Society of Iowa.)*

Sub. name of
WAS THE NAME "KETEKITIGANING" (TODAY LAKE VIEUX DESERT) KNOWN TO THE MISSIONARIES OF THE 17th CENTURY? Upon this question Rev. William F. Gagnier, S. J., of Sault Sainte Marie writes to this Magazine:

If we study the maps of Wisconsin and Michigan, we find the name of the lake "Vieux Desert," which played a considerable role in the late contention between Wisconsin and Michigan.

The Indian name "Ketekitigan" was brought into evidence.

The French name, if not of Parisian origin, at least is Coureurs French as spoken by the "Coureurs des bois" and expresses well the Indian name as known today.

That there were Indians there in the early part of the 19th and even in the 18th centuries we can hardly doubt. There are still a few left, "pagans," who eke out a wretched and pitiful existence, on the Michigan or north side of this beautiful lake.

Besides the role which the Lake played in the late controversy between the two States—mentioned above—the Lake is of importance as being the source of the Wisconsin River.

The origin of the name has never been made clear to me. The little that could be gathered from the traditions, seems very uncertain and insignificant, and would not lead us back beyond 100 or 150 years.

Some time ago, on looking over those ever wonderful and interesting Jesuit "Relations," I was struck with a word which suggested some thinking. It was the word: "Ketehigamins"—name of a tribe or "nation" as they called them, mentioned by Father Marquette. I easily and immediately recognized "Kete," but what about "higamins"? What could that be? I saw that it was not correct "Indian." Now Fr. Marquette was at Pointe St. Esprit. He was writing to his Superior, probably Fr. Dablon, and telling him how he had met some Illinois who were well disposed toward Christianity, and that he hoped to go with them some day to their country.

He noted that he understood somewhat their language, though as yet imperfectly, but that he hoped to acquire it later. Now the Illinois belong to the same great "family" as the Ojibways, Ottawas, Algon-

quins, etc. Thinking this over I read and re-read the following passage (1670—page 90). The Illinois are distant 30 days journey by land from the "Point." They are South S. W. from the "Point." The road passes through the Nation of the Ketehigamins; 20 wigwams. They are in the interior (sans des terres) I came to the conclusion after considering that S. S. W. should be S. S. E.: 1° Fr. Marquette caught the first syllable (Kete) correctly. The second part he did not quite catch or did not remember. 2° or else the printer of the written Ms. did not decipher it correctly.

And truly, if we compare: "Ketekitiganing" with "Ketehigamins," it is easy to see how a person not well versed could misunderstand or not decipher the word as it should be.

| Ketekitiganing | — | Ketehigamins |
|----------------|---|----------------------|
| Kete | — | Kete |
| iga | — | iga |
| t | — | h |
| (ki) | — | not heard or omitted |
| ning | | mins |

Even in our own day compare: Kalamazoo and Gaganamazoo, Totem and o (t) otem.

For a long time it has been my opinion that the saintly old and feeble Fr. R. Menard who died on his way from Keweenaw Bay in 1668 to visit some wretched and starving (who had become Christians), was in reality on his way to Lake Vieux Desert—Ketekitiganing—or at least expected to pass by that lake.

It may not be a real argument, assuredly, but it is of some interest (and may mean something) that when I went to Lake V. D. thirty years ago, and again later, I found a large and high cross there. It was decorated with ribbons, and as all the Indians there were pagans, and practicing pagan rites, I could not refuse to believe, that maybe Fr. Menard put a cross there in spite of the fact that I was told an old Indian saw the cross in a vision, and that the Indians renewed it, as it were, from time to time. Tradition has it, that this has been done at Cross Village, Michigan; the original cross, it is supposed, was put there by Fr. Marquette.

It seems to me that the little extract from Fr. Marquette's letter to Fr. Dablon helps out somewhat my suggestion, that maybe Fr. Menard visited Lake Vieux Desert,—Ketekitiganing.

AMONG THE BOOKS

ENGLAND AND AMERICA, RIVALS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Claude H. Van Tyne. Macmillans, N. Y., 1927, pp. 192. Price \$2.50.

The Sir George Watson Foundation established in 1921, provides for an annual series of lectures before British audiences on American history and institutions. The intent is to complement the services of English lecturers on British history, by a similarly frank interpretation of American history and problems, in the well founded belief that from a better comprehension of each other by the two great English speaking peoples may come "that mutual understanding in which all men of vision see the best hope of world peace and democratic progress."

In 1927 this series of lectures was prepared and delivered by Dr. Claude H. Van Tyne, head of the Department of History of the University of Michigan. They have been published, with a brief preface of explanation and acknowledgement, in his latest volume, *England and America*. In his preface he says: "The lectures presented in this volume are based upon twenty-five years of study and investigation in the field of the American Revolution. The opinions are my own, but are often based upon the conclusions drawn by the writers of famous monographs, and the result of years of investigation by distinguished scholars."

The descriptive titles of the several lectures illuminate the manner in which Dr. Van Tyne presents separate analyses of the rival influences contributing to the outbreak and conduct of the Revolutionary War. These titles are:

Lecture I: The struggle for the Truth about the American Revolution. (Delivered in the Moses Chamber, House of Lords, May 13, 1927.)

Lecture II: The rival British and American merchants in the Revolution. (Delivered at Birmingham University, May 16, 1927.)

Lecture III: The Anglican Church and the dissenters in the American Revolution. (Delivered at the University of Glasgow, May 17, 1927.)

Lecture IV: The influence of English and American lawyers in the Revolution. (Delivered at the University of London, June 3, 1927.)

Lecture V: The rival soldiers of England and America. (Delivered at Cambridge University, May 19, 1927.)

Lecture VI: The opposing diplomats of England and America. (Delivered at Oxford University, May 27, 1927.)

"The study of history," says Mr. Van Tyne, "has many intellectual rewards...and best of all cultivates the habit of toleration for many

different views which may be held on nearly all complex questions. From its pursuit one learns easily and habitually to suspend judgment, and not to form unalterable opinions based on a few haphazard facts."

In theory, at least, it will be generally conceded that history should be of past events, as nearly as possible, a truthful record uncolored by romance or propaganda. Unfortunately, this ideal seems not to have been the standard of all purveyors of history and some through ineptitude or careless acceptance of traditional fallacies, have assisted in perpetuating erroneous views which other less ingenuous historians maintain designedly as an appeal to their sponsors or to certain prejudiced classes of readers. A marked example of historical mistreatment is in our American Revolution. Mr. Van Tyne mentions the recent criticism of certain historical texts, by forces impelled, he says, by desire for self-aggrandizement but acting under the guise of patriotism, which are still actively hostile to the dissemination and teaching of the truth regarding that period.

In his lecture "The struggle for the truth about the American Revolution," Dr. Van Tyne discusses the chief obstacles which have retarded popular acceptance of many facts disclosed by conscientious and unbiased historical research. He says that since the close of the Revolution "historians have sought to learn what really happened. There were, of course, conflicting English and American interpretations of the events, different appraisements of credit and blame. Strangely enough the historians of the opposing nations have had little trouble in coming to approximate agreements, and they can today discuss all the vital questions in a most harmonious spirit. The great conflict has been between popular tradition and the results of scholarly research. For nearly one hundred years after the awakening of the 'spirit of '76' the story of the Revolution was told much as the contemporaries had told it, bitterly, with no effort to be impartial or judicial and no emphasis upon the fundamentals."

That impartial or judicial attitude, befitting a scholarly historian, is a marked characteristic of the manner in which Dr. Van Tyne has prepared the series of lectures contained in the volume, "England and America." Though their primary purpose may have been to give British audiences a clearer idea of some early chapters of American history, they will do just as valuable and desirable services for their American reader, who will find other "intellectual rewards" besides pleasure in their perusal.

Michigan is proud to claim Dr. Claude Van Tyne, internationally known historian, as a native son. He was born at Tecumseh, Michigan, October 16, 1869. He received his A. B. degree at the University of Michigan in 1896 and during the succeeding two years studied at

Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Paris. In 1900 the University of Pennsylvania conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He is now head of the Department of History at the University of Michigan and makes his home in Ann Arbor. He is president of the Michigan Historical Commission. He was a contributor to the New International Encyclopedia, the Encyclopedia Americana, and Nelson's Encyclopedia, and from 1915 to 1922 was associate editor of the American Historical Review.

He is author of the following volumes:

The Loyalists in the American Revolution. 1902.

Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington. (Written in collaboration with W. G. Leland.) 1904.

The American Revolution. (In collaboration with Prof. A. C. McLaughlin.) 1905.

School History of United States, 1911.

Causes of the War of Independence. 1921.

India in Ferment. 1923. *From the Michigan Library Bulletin, May, 1928.*

THE JOHN ASKIN PAPERS: VOL. I. 1747-1795. Edited by Milo M. Quaife, Secretary-Editor of the Burton Historical Collection. Published by the Detroit Library Commission, 1928, pp. 657.

The letters and papers of John Askin, who was a resident merchant of Detroit in the second half of the 18th century, make up one of the most valuable groups of documents in the Burton Historical Collection. The special significance of the group lies in the fact that Askin's life and work were so wide and varied as to illustrate quite fully the whole life of the upper Great Lakes region for a period of half a century. An interesting account of the life of Askin is given in the Historical Introduction to the volume. It is there stated that a second volume of these papers will be published in the near future covering the period 1796-1815.

The scholarly and generous spirit of the editor shines out so refreshingly from the Introduction that we are constrained to print the following portion which deals with some of the editorial problems which were encountered in this work. Dr. Quaife writes:

"To some extent every piece of historical editing presents problems peculiar to itself, to whose solution the editor devotes whatever measure of scholarly skill and judgment he may command. A statement of certain problems encountered in the editing of the Askin Papers, together with the solution hit upon, may prove advantageous to the

reader who shall have occasion to consult the volumes. In general the printed document aims to present a scrupulously accurate copy of the original manuscript. But since it is impossible to represent in print numerous idiosyncracies of long-hand manuscripts, the Editor has steadily endeavored to reproduce the evident intent of the writer, but to escape a slavish adherence to mere pedanticism. In the matter of punctuation, for example, it becomes frequently a matter for editorial interpretation whether a given mark of the penman shall be printed as a comma or as a period. Such interpretation we have not hesitated to supply. Of similar import, the penman of a century ago often distributed dashes in liberal measure across his page, in a fashion which finds no precise equivalent in modern typography. We have made no pretense of reproducing these except in cases where their representation has some discoverable significance and where the penman's dash has seemed to signify the equivalent of the comma or period as employed in modern printing, we have reproduced it as such. So too with words underscored in the manuscripts. The equivalent in print of this usage is the employment of italics, and all publishing houses have established rules governing the resort to such usage. But the underscoring of the penman, like his employment of dashes, commonly possesses no discoverable significance, and when such significance has seemed lacking we have not transferred the underscoring into print.

"In the matter of footnote annotation some explanation of the editorial policy seems also in order. Few American cities can vie with Detroit in the fullness of the records available for the reconstruction of their remoter past. The fact that Detroit has done comparatively little, as yet, in the way of printing and utilizing these records, but serves to render the opportunity for their present and future exploitation the greater. In initiating the *Burton Historical Records*, therefore, it seems desirable to provide, where possible, somewhat full biographical information concerning the individuals who figure in the documents, and this the Editor has undertaken to do. Probably few readers will ever realize how greatly this conception of the editorial task has served to increase its arduousness. A footnote which may be read in the fraction of a minute may have cost (and frequently has) many hours of toil to prepare. Frequently, too, with the acquirement of additional pertinent information, it has been revised again and again before reaching the form it finally assumes in print. Since the Editor is not omniscient, but must rely upon such sources of information as are open to him, it is not to be expected that these biographical sketches are free from error, or that they are insusceptible to future elaboration. For both the reasons here suggested, care has been taken to supply, in almost every case, references to the sources from which the note has been drawn.

"The occasion is opportune, in this connection, to pay a much-deserved tribute to the memory of an earlier worker in the Detroit historical garden, whose fame remains unsung. Father Christian Denissen, a parish priest of Detroit, labored assiduously for many years to compile a genealogical record of the Catholic families of early Detroit. It was his ambition to publish the result of his labors, but when, in 1911, death stayed his hand, the cost of publishing the vast compilation of data he had brought together far exceeded the comparatively modest estate he had been able to leave for the purpose. The Denissen genealogies, therefore, still exist only in manuscript, and there seems no present prospect that the dream of their compiler with respect to their publication will ever be realized. Yet they constitute a well-nigh indispensable source of information for all who would delve in the early history of Detroit. In view of the remote prospect of their publication *in extenso*, it has seemed wise to incorporate in the footnotes to the present volume as much of the genealogical data accumulated by Father Denissen as the circumstances of the case permit. We have also brought into the footnotes such additional information procured from other sources as we have been able to find. Aside from the general historical value which may attach to these biographical sketches, they should possess a peculiar interest to the many thousand present-day citizens of Detroit who are the direct descendants of those who resided here in the French and British periods. This consideration, among others, has been responsible for the large amount of effort (and of space in the volume) devoted to annotating the documents.

"It seems advisable to inform the reader concerning a problem of peculiar difficulty which has been encountered in the preparation of these footnotes. The correct spelling of the proper names of the residents of French Detroit frequently presents a puzzle whose solution drives the Editor to despair. Perhaps the simplest aspect of this puzzle has to do with the given names: Should Marie Anne, for example, be written thus, or according to one of the numerous variants which appear in the parish vital records? The priests themselves were not troubled by any urge after consistency, for it is a common occurrence to find the name of a given individual written several different ways in the Ste. Anne's and Assumption church records. The same is true of the surnames: such well-known Detroit names as Campau, Cicotte, Godfroy, Gamelin, and Tremblay are recorded with numerous variant spellings. On occasion, the priest in writing up his baptismal entry, spelled the name of a godfather other than the godfather himself signed it immediately below. Nor can it be said that the signatures themselves are conclusive authority, for it was a fre-

quent practice for members of the same family to spell their inherited surname differently.

"To add to the perplexity of the Editor, the residents of French Detroit commonly possessed, in addition to the inherited surname, a nickname; more rarely a citizen might possess two nicknames; and frequently he was better known by his nickname than by his inherited name. This practice finds ancient and respectable precedent in the act of Christ in ordaining his twelve disciples: Finding two Simons in the group, he surnamed one of them Peter; and this example the residents of French Detroit imitated with appalling zeal. For illustrations of this generalization, the reader is referred to almost any biographical footnote in the volume. To contemporaries, who enjoyed first-hand knowledge of their neighbors, the custom presented, apparently, no particular difficulty; to the investigator of a distant generation the case is quite otherwise. In annotating the documents which follow, we have labored manfully to spell the proper names correctly, giving highest authority, ordinarily, to the individual's own usage where it has been possible to determine this; but to achieve entire consistency has proved impossible, and our rendition of an individual's name does not imply that some variant spelling of it may not be equally permissible."

The mechanical features of this volume are a high credit to the Library's ideals of publication. The format is delightful to the eye,—wide margins, artistic proportions, large type upon excellent paper. The volume is handsomely bound.

Of the minor features specially deserving of emphasis is the index, covering in double column 36 pages, which obviously was made by someone who knows what an index to this sort of material is for.

The work as a whole is a monument to fine scholarship and artistic publication which leads us to anticipate the future volumes of the series with great interest.

AMERICAN PRESIDENTS: THEIR INDIVIDUALITIES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN PROGRESS. By Thomas Francis Moran, Ph. D., Professor of History and Economics in Purdue University. New Edition Revised and Enlarged. Crowell, N. Y., 1928, pp. 318. Price \$2.50.

This volume is a revision of a study published in 1917 presenting chronologically the presidents from Washington to Coolidge. Dr. Moran has succeeded with a few deft strokes in making each of his subjects stand before us as clear as on a painter's canvas. One of his chief

concerns and one which he has accomplished with rare insight has been to evaluate the contributions made by each to American progress, yet he has not forgotten that while these men were presidents so also were they human beings. Washington lives in these pages with a personal charm of which his biographers had nearly succeeded in robbing him.

In a concluding chapter which he calls "The Ethics of the Presidential Campaign," Dr. Moran says: "The student of current politics might easily become pessimistic and cynical as he considers the methods which are employed in the average American political campaign. No stone, apparently, is left unturned, and the end justifies the means. The speeches are bombastic and sensational; personalities are freely indulged in; principles are often lost sight of; and the cry of fraud is raised after every election. Money is freely used; some of it legitimately, more of it corruptly, and the partisan press is vindictive, mendacious, and unprincipled. Political morals seem to be at a low ebb, and if the observer did not employ the comparative method he would undoubtedly be justified in drawing some very serious conclusions. The comparative method, however, has its comforts. It is only by comparing the present with the past that progress can be noted; and when we do this we see that the present deplorable campaign methods were preceded by others of a still more deplorable character. In other words, while the methods of recent political campaigns are far from ideal, they are, for the most part, a vast improvement upon those of almost any other epoch in our history."

In at least five distinct ways, the author feels there has come an improvement in campaign ethics. In the first place, vituperation has lost much of its power to affect the popular mind; second, the attitude of candidates themselves toward one another has improved markedly; third, the "hurrah element" once so powerful in political campaigns is today decidedly at a discount; fourth, the press has achieved a distinct advance in the matter of political independence; and finally, people at large are asking that a candidate present a constructive program. On the basis of what these changes indicate Dr. Moran feels hopeful for the future.

THE "ALSO RANS"; GREAT MEN WHO MISSED MAKING THE PRESIDENTIAL GOAL. By Don C. Seitz. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., N. Y. 1928, pp. 356. Price \$3.50.

The author of this volume, one of the best known figures in the field of journalism, author of several books on political subjects, is acknowledged to be one of the best informed writers in America on politics. He has done nothing better in his long career than in this delightfully

informal treatment of the life stories of these disappointed men who challenged public attention in some of the great struggles which involved the very life of the nation. These "Also Rans" are indeed a distinguished group, some of them more distinguished than many who won out, men like Calhoun, Clay, Webster, Douglas, Seward, Greeley, Blaine, Bryan, to mention only a few of this great array. In this breezy combination of biography and essay, Mr. Seitz gives a running commentary on the entire range of American politics in the last century. No book could be more timely than this, with national attention again directed towards the great race with the White House as goal.

THE UNITED STATES. With many maps. By Theodore Calvin Pease, University of Illinois. Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y., 1927. pp. 744. Price \$3.75.

This volume is intended primarily as a text-book for use in colleges. It presents the essential details of American history, but lays emphasis upon interpretations. Political theory and the history of political thought are treated fully. Much of English history is woven into colonial foundations. The economic revolutions in the life of the people are treated with emphasis upon how they came about and their important consequences. Social history is treated in such a way as to enable the student to value the social habits and standards of his own time by comparison with the past. The World War, being vital in the consciousness of many millions today, is treated in detail. Special attention has been given to maps, and each chapter is provided with carefully selected references. The style of the book may be judged from these closing paragraphs in the chapter on "The Age of Harding and Coolidge":

"Socially, the present period is witnessing the essential unification of great masses of the American people on the basis of common amusements and habits of thought. Millions upon millions of American families own automobiles and use them for recreation; and essential unities of interest and thought develop thereby between the owner of the \$10,000 Rolls and the \$25 second-hand Ford. The motion picture is an amusement sought by the vast majority of Americans; the same films are seen by the educated and the ignorant, the rich and the poor. The radio has reached the homes of those of moderate means; and by turning a dial, the man in a lonely farm home or ranch can hear the music in a metropolitan opera house or a fashionable restaurant, listen to the cheering at a championship ball game a thousand miles away and hear of each play as it is made, or listen to a political speech. The hard road, the car, the radio, the movie—these things are linking men in America closer together in tastes and interests.

"The same thing is true even of higher education; the tens of thousands of students now in our universities are bringing lower and lower intellectual levels of the population in contact, at least, with some of the better intellectual things. Lower education, it is true, in the form of vocational training is tending to become specialized. But the education of the masses is proceeding very fast outside the schools. There is, of course, some danger in this. When education tends to become universal it must encounter the prejudices of the ignorant who refuse to have taught to them things that are counter to their beliefs. The statutes found in several States prohibiting the teaching of evolution are an instance of this.

The United States has, indeed, approached closer to political and economic democracy than any other people in the world's history. Never before have the masses of a nation enjoyed so much money for gratification of their desires as to enable them to impose their moral and aesthetic standards on the fine arts. The culture of the nation is no longer dictated by the tastes of the select few. Great pecuniary rewards await the novelist, the newspaper writer, the movie actor, the professional athlete, the statesman who can hit the public's taste; mediocre ability and an average intellectual standard are a distinct advantage to them. Indeed by the older canons of taste, their performances are mediocre also. Yet newspaper, radio, and monster athletic stadium all serve to push their appeal home. Sometimes, unconsciously, it shadows earlier intellectual states of our history. The fundamentalist, the prohibitionist, are dim shadows of the Puritan in our history. The radical agitator is often reminiscent of the men who inspired the American Revolution. To understand these recurring moods as filtered and evolved through the passage of time is one of the chief benefits which the study of history can confer.

"In our democracy, there is something very much more valid and sure than this. The people may be deceived, may very easily be made to forget. But slowly, surely, often independently, often defiant of its would-be leaders, it reaches decisions on matters of policy, of morals, of artistic taste. It has decided against a League of Nations, against certain political charlatans. On these matters propaganda breaks on it like a wave on rock. Its habits of living, of sport, of the outdoors, its taste, all gradually improve. Democracy, for the present, has lowered the older standards; but our hope for the future must be that the ground swell of a whole people automatically lifting its standards may yet in the end produce something infinitely finer, more solid, more lasting than the culture of the past."

THE EARTH UPSETS. By Chase Salmon Osborn, B. S., LL. D. Waverly Press, Inc., Baltimore. 1927, pp. 216. Price \$3.

Here is a book that will delight all lovers of Chase Osborn. It is an "Osborn book, in the Osborn style," and there could be only one type of book of that sort. Because into every book that Chase Osborn ever wrote he has put Chase Osborn, and that is what gives this volume its charm. It is not written for scientists, though the author has kept within the facts of science in expounding his theory. It is obviously written for the average reader, and bears the earmarks of an expanded lecture, for the method of exposition is somewhat that of the platform. The theme itself will be "brand new" to 999 out of every thousand readers.

It is simple, as stated by Mr. Osborn. We studied in our school geographies that the earth inclines 23 and one-half degrees towards the plane of its orbit, and that as a result we have the seasons, the axis of the earth always remaining parallel to any given position in the passage of the earth around the sun. In midwinter the earth in the northern hemisphere is leaning directly away from the sun, and in midsummer directly towards the sun. In spring and autumn we get the "equinoxes," days equal to nights, because the earth leans neither towards nor away from the sun, causing the sun's vertical rays to strike on the equator. But since we went to school the earth has been tipping every year further and further towards the plane of its orbit, at the rate of about a mile a year. And it is easy to compute that at this rate the earth will have tipped completely over in 24,000 years, the number of miles in its circumference as measured on a meridian.

Some peculiar effects will result from this. None of us will be here to see, but posterity may be, and in fact we do hear about one of these effects once in a while, namely, the earth shakings made in the attempts of the crust to adjust to these new positions. "Earthquakes," says Mr. Osborn, have their origin in dislocations of rock strata due in part to this peculiar terrestrial motion. More remote effects will be the changes in climate in the different zones. The north pole will some day point directly towards the sun in summer, which will then have tropic heat, and it will point directly away from the sun in winter, with "below zero" temperature in good earnest.

Life on the earth, if there is any at that time, will have had to adjust to this curious shifting of climatic changes, and thereby hangs a tale that challenges the imagination.

This is a fascinating book, well padded, but the padding is "Osborn-esque," and constitutes one of its chief charms.

THE STORY OF MICHIGAN. By Claude S. Larzelere, Professor of History, Central State Teachers' College. Published by the Michigan School Service, Inc., Lansing, 1928, pp. 424. Price \$1.60.

In the January number for 1925 was reviewed Prof. Larzelere's *Story of Michigan*, then published in a series of pamphlets. In substance these pamphlets have now been brought together in book form and make a very useable narrative text for upper Grammar grades. The book is profusely and interestingly illustrated. Each chapter is followed by "Suggestions to Teachers" and a list of well chosen references for further reading and study. The story is well balanced, giving due attention to the periods of discovery, exploration, and settlement, but treating with considerable fulness such later topics as transportation and communication, the "Soo" canal and locks, slavery days, civil war, copper and iron, lumbering, forestry, education, and the World War. The spirit of the book is in keeping with the modern tendency to emphasize the essential factors in the development of civilization rather than to tell a story of wars and the more or less sensational. The mechanical features are excellent. The volume is pleasant to handle and easy for young people to read.

GEOLOGICAL REPORTS OF DOUGLASS HOUGHTON, FIRST STATE GEOLOGIST OF MICHIGAN, 1837-1845. Published by the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, 1928, pp. 700. Distributed free to libraries and schools.

The importance of the work of Douglass Houghton for all later development of the geological survey of Michigan can hardly be overstated. The magnitude of his work, in so short a time, was prodigious. Tragedy cut short a life of great promise. But before his death, in a storm on Lake Superior while engaged on one of his expeditions, he had blocked out quite fairly the Michigan coal basin and the beds beneath it; he had called attention to coal, gypsum, marl, peat, iron ore and copper, and had discovered gold. One of the higher shore lines of Lake Erie had been mapped through three successive counties, and a higher shore line of Lake Superior around the Huron Mountains. Observations had been made on botany, on zoology, on the rise and fall of the Great Lakes, and on magnetic variation, and the outlines of the main formations were pretty well made out.

Just how much he had done will now never be known. In the first place his labors were broken off by his untimely death, and much of his material was scattered. Much of what remained, valuable engravings of fossils and maps, appears to have been forever lost.

In the second place the reports seem never to have received wide circulation among scientific men. They were not printed in attractive form, and were not illustrated, for at that time the State of Michigan was desperately poor from wildcat finance. These reports are and always have been very rare.

In the third place other men, Jackson and Foster and Whitney, took up the work where he left it off, and made use of his work and the work of his assistants to such an extent that it was impracticable to divide the credit.

This volume brings together for the first time all of Houghton's reports and those of his assistants. They are arranged in strict chronological order, and supplied with a good index, made by the State Geologist. For ready reference the reports are prefaced by a complete summary and synopsis. The volume is introduced with a brief biographical sketch, and there are two special accounts of expeditions, one into the Saginaw region in 1837, and another in 1840 in the Upper Peninsula. Among illustrations is the Bradish portrait, the original of which hangs in the Capitol building at Lansing.

Between these lines of scientific data may be seen the picturesque figure of the young Houghton, only 36 at the time of his death, moving about through the romantic environment of primitive nature in Michigan's early days. Many of his passages contain vivid descriptions of woods and waters and their primitive inhabitants. But they would scarcely be a guide to present day campers, for whom the hand of time has painted a quite different scene over the expanse of these peninsulas.

EDUCATION IN DETROIT PRIOR TO 1850. By Sister Mary Rosalita, I. H. M., Ph. D., Professor of American History, Mary Grove College, Detroit. Published by the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, 1928, pp. 364.

A very good brief survey of the contents of this volume is thus stated by the author.

"The study is divided into ten chapters approximating the period 1701 to 1850. Chapters one, three, and nine deal with the Catholic schools; chapter two is devoted to the purely private schools for the half century following the American Revolution, and the remaining six chapters tell the story of semi-public and public achievement in the field of education.

Chapter one includes a record of the efforts of Detroit's first settlers, the French, to establish schools through the medium of the Church and of the home government. Chapter three introduces Father Gabriel

Richard, an educator far ahead of his time and means, whose highly practical turn of mind helped him to accomplish much in a frontier settlement struggling against great economic odds. Through the almost unbelievable difficulties that beset him during his thirty-four years' pastorate at Ste. Anne's, Detroit, he kept faith in the justice of the cause of Catholic education. When exhaustion, brought on by his care of the stricken, made him an easy prey to the devastating plague in the fall of 1832, his spirit and zeal were caught up by the first Bishop of Detroit, the Right Reverend Frederick Rese. The record of Catholic education under Bishops Rese and Lefevre forms the matter of the ninth chapter.

"Chapter two is the result of investigations of the purely private schools of the Revolutionary War period and after. These were in no way connected with the Church. Here old family papers are the primary source of information. Tuition accounts are evidence of the fact that schools of some kind existed. So fragmentary are the data, however, that from some we learn no more than the name of a teacher. Yet the fragment fitted together help to form a picture of the past.

"The education that came as a result of the group effort outside of the Church, which in time evolved a public school system, forms the subject matter of the remaining chapters of this study. Chapter four sums up not only the legislation that affected the Territory and, in consequence, Detroit, but also that which was concerned directly with the city. The next two chapters detail the account of the educational legislation of 1817, and the rise and fall of the Lancasterian system. The legislation that came between 1827 and 1835, paving the way for the new state program of education, is recorded in chapter seven. Chapter eight outlines the new Michigan Public School System, the background of the Detroit Public School System organized five years later, the details of which form the content of the final chapter."

The special merit of this work is that it is based in large measure upon original material. The chief source was the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library. The Detroit Diocesan archives were consulted for the early history of Catholic schools, and the Walker Papers at the University of Michigan for sources bearing upon the legislation of 1817. The publishing house of P. J. Kenedy and Sons of New York yielded a complete set of Catholic Directories dating from 1822. The archives at Lansing and Washington yielded important legislative material. Early newspapers and considerable private material in the form of letters and diaries were used. The study represents four years of painstaking research in a difficult period, since no school records were kept in Detroit prior to 1838. Not until 1842 was the Board of Education established, which marks a central point in

Detroit's educational history. The story of Detroit's schools both public and parochial since 1850 should be comparatively easy to cover.

The volume is provided with a critical bibliography and is carefully illustrated.

CALENDAR OF MANUSCRIPTS IN PARIS ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY TO 1803. Edited by N. M. Miller Surrey (Mrs. F. M. Surrey). Vol. I. Carnegie Institution at Washington, Dept. of Historical Research, 1926, pp. 689.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of this calendar. Evidences of careful planning, ripe scholarship, and meticulous care are visible throughout, and the result is eminently satisfying. Dr. J. Franklin Jameson has told in the preface how the work, planned in 1907 by historical agencies in the Mississippi Valley, was begun under the direction of a committee of the American Historical Association and finished under the aegis of Dr. Jameson's own organization, the Carnegie Institution of Washington. He has also given due credit to the fine editorial work of Mrs. Surrey and to the revision by Mr. David W. Parker, formerly the keeper of manuscripts in the Canadian Archives, though he has modestly failed to acknowledge his own share in the enterprise.

A system of abbreviations has enabled the editor to give, besides an abstract of each document, references to the books in which it has been printed. Of course a large percentage of the manuscripts has never been published, and the entries for these are much more detailed than for the others. By these devices the reader's time is saved as much as possible.

For the region of the upper Mississippi, including modern Minnesota, the entries are numerous. Thus, a hasty checking of the first eighty-four pages covering the years from 1581 to 1701 reveals over two hundred and forty unpublished documents that contribute to a knowledge of the French regime in the Minnesota country. Of course the familiar names of Radisson, Groseilliers, La Salle, Jolliet, Tonty, Du Luth, Hennepin, Marquette, Allouez, La Durantye, Perrot, and Le Sueur appear many times; but others, less familiar or totally unknown hitherto, are also encountered. A great deal of unpublished material on Du Luth, Hennepin, and Le Sueur is listed; one is especially intrigued with the "Journal [of Le Sueur] of a voyage beginning at La Rochelle, Oct. 16, 1699, to Santo Domingo in the Gironde, along the coast of La., and up the Mississippi." General accounts of the fur trade, of missions, of exploration, and of the Indian tribes are numer-

ous, and maps are not infrequent. In the period after 1701 a good deal of data on La Verendrye, La Jemeraye, Delisle's map work, the missionaries among the Sioux, the Fox wars, and the copper mines on Lake Superior may be found.

About half of the first volume is taken up with the years from 1730 to 1739. The second volume will complete the period of the French regime and will also contain an index, which will render this first volume even more useful than it is at present.

An interesting departure from ordinary printing methods should be mentioned, for the volume is reproduced from the original typewritten manuscript by means of the planograph. In this way the small edition was published more economically than by printing and typographical errors were avoided in a work that abounded in pitfalls for the typesetter. A long list of officials in France and in her American colonies makes the reader indebted still further to those who planned this volume so wisely.

GRACE LEE NUTE,
In *Minnesota History*.

BULLETIN No. 17 of the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor presents Benjamin West's "The Death of Wolfe." Note of Mr. Clement's acquisition of this original of the famous painting was made in the July number. In the eight pages of this Bulletin there is given a brief account of West's early success as an artist, his characteristic qualities, and a brief history and description of this Waldeck original now in the Library. Interesting is this comment upon the "artistic license" of the picture:

"Historians have been prone to criticize the picture for its inaccuracy. Probably only three persons attended Wolfe in his final moments and their identity is a matter of dispute. Monckton, it has been pointed out, was leading the right; Howe was holding the reserves, and Barre had already been wounded. Surgeon Adair was not even at Quebec. Nor were there any Indians with the British forces. Yet, comparing West's painting with the more nearly accurate ones of Penny or Barry, one realizes the essential rightness of West's composition. Alone, with only three attendants, the servant, the grenadier and the surgeon, the figure of Wolfe becomes merely pathetic. Surrounded by his military family, men prominent in British history, and watched by the Indian to see whether the white man's heroism in the face of death equals his own, the figure of the general assumes a significance that is rightly his. The destiny of Canada and French colonial policy was decided that day. West, by the great scope of the picture, by this very inaccuracy of detail, conveys all the feeling of a truly great moment—surely a sufficient justification for the 'extreme artistic license'."

THE MICHIGAN STATE PRISON, JACKSON. 1837-1928," is the title of a publication recently issued by that institution. Warden Harry H. Jackson announces in the preface that the research work to complete the information was done by the Reverend William F. Hopp, chaplain of the prison. Printed in clear type on book-plate paper, every other page carries a well executed illustration, and the text and pictures make a graphic presentation of the essential outline of the history of the prison, though the illustrations are largely of the present-day institution.

The style of the booklet is eminently clear and readable. At the conclusion of the text it is stated: "The last four years have seen unparalleled increases in the prison population, and the housing problem, which is a serious one, will probably not be relieved until the completion of the New Prison. The population on March 6, 1928, was 3,824, and it must be obvious that the problems, responsibilities and difficulties faced by the Warden of the Michigan State Prison at this time are tremendous."

Following the text, several pages of statistics are given covering the months from Jan. 1, to March 31, 1928, "intended to contribute to the understanding of the crime problem and help in its solution." One feature of the research specially to be commended is the compilation of a complete list of the agents and wardens of the prison from 1839 to date, with dates of tenure of office.

A VOLUME of unusual interest is the July, 1928, issue of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* bearing the title "Some aspects of the Present International Situation." These 36 articles by experts of international reputation in their respective fields make a formidable collection. They are gathered into six groups: I. Foreign investments and foreign policy; II. China and American foreign policy; III. Recent aspects of our relations with Latin America; IV. The present situation in Russia: Its relation to American foreign policy; V. The arbitration policy of the United States; VI. The present and future of the disarmament. The headquarters of the Academy are at 3622-24 Locust St., West Philadelphia, Pa. The above volume in cloth is \$2.50.

STUDIES IN AMERICAN IMPERIALISM is the title of a series of volumes of which three have reached our desk: *Our Cuban Colony*, *the Americans in Santo Domingo*, and *The Bankers of Bolivia*; published by The Vanguard Press, N. Y., from the "American Fund for Public Service Studies in American Investments Abroad," at \$1 per volume.

Our Cuban Colony, by Leland H. Jenks, is "a study in sugar." Cuba has been called the "sacred cow" of American diplomacy, and its problems have been discussed in hushed whispers. Next to oil, sugar has been a chemical compound of marvelous capacity for stirring trouble. Besides sugar, here discussed are tobacco, mines, railways and public utilities, and the question raised is: "We have given Cuba industry, but are the Cubans free?"

The Americans in Santo Domingo, by Melvin M. Knight, considers the operations of the American sugar planters, shrewd American traders, and enterprising American bankers in these sunny islands; and, noting the domination of the natives by these men of power and the use of our military forces to quell revolt and suppress the protests of the island populations, the author observes, "There may be glory in Imperialism—but what price glory?"

Margaret Alexander Marsh in "*The Bankers of Bolivia*" inquires, "What has happened to the glory of the Incas?" The facts which she piles up in this volume present an arresting picture of the condition of the native people of Bolivia under the domination of American money.

Other volumes are to follow. The series is edited by Prof. Harry Elmer Barnes, who says in his introduction: "What is usually known as modern economic imperialism is one of the most characteristic and important historical developments of contemporary times... It may be contended with full assurance of accuracy and with a sense of moderation that one who fails to acquaint himself with the nature and achievements of contemporary imperialism will have ignored one of the most significant phases of contemporary civilization... It has often been stated by patriotic orators that the United States is the one state which has resolutely stood aloof from the general imperialistic orgy of the last half century. Yet the truth would seem to be that we were conceived in imperialism and dedicated to the principle of expansion."

MR. JOHAN G. R. BANER, of Ironwood, writes us about his new volume *Viking Mettles*, which is said to combine an old Swedish saga and a rune inscription with a Chippewa Indian legend. Mr. Baner says:

"The aim of this work is to show the viking as he really was, a roamer, a smiter, but also home-loving, respecting the laws of other peoples, a builder and a protector; terrible in battle, friendly thereafter. I presume you will agree that the historical facts in a piece of art need not be strictly accurate if the author only makes his characters

live. That is what I have tried to do. In my poem Lake Superior and the Indians near it were so well known by the Northmen that the father of the leading hero knew how to find them and had sailed over "the sweet water of Widewave." The viking dragon Frekee bore Vidar Viking, Arnljot Gellina and twelve other Vikings to Chequamegon Bay and Isle Royale sometime between 1010 and 1015. The copper mines of the Isle were mined under the supervision of these vikings and they built a town on the island. Arnljot became the son-in-law of the Chippewa chief, and ruled that tribe and became the father of the sire of the tribe's so-called copperhead-chiefs. *Viking Mettles* consists of about twenty cantos. I think some of the readers of the Michigan History Magazine might be interested, not forgetting that myth, saga and legend are grandparents to history."

MR. J. LEE BAKER, Detroit, sends us "Reaching the Heights," as handsome a brochure as we have seen in many a day, to which Mr. George Catlin of the *Detroit News* contributes an historical sketch of Detroit under the caption "Out of the Dust of Yesterday." The story is beautifully and profusely illustrated in colors.

THE HISTORY OF MICHIGAN'S CAPITOL," a neat little pamphlet of a dozen pages just issued can be obtained from Mr. Mortimer F. Larner, Lansing, or Mr. E. J. Thomas at the State Capitol.

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